

All India Modern History Congress.

PROCEEDINGS

PART I

Speeches and Addresses.

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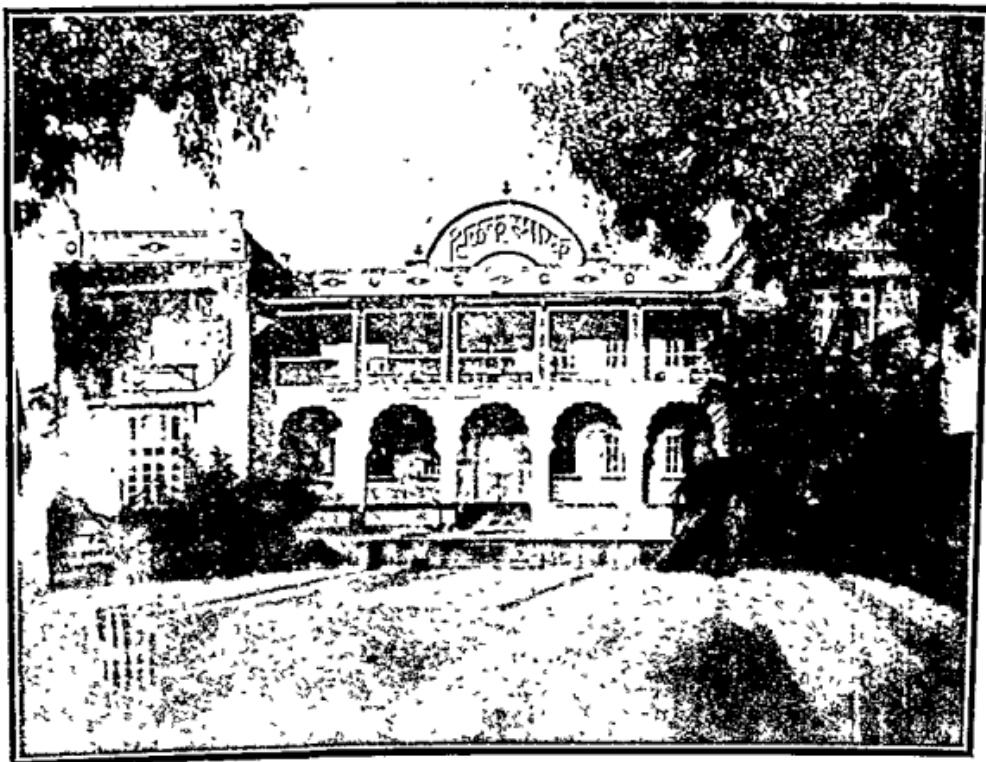


H. E. Lord Brabourne.

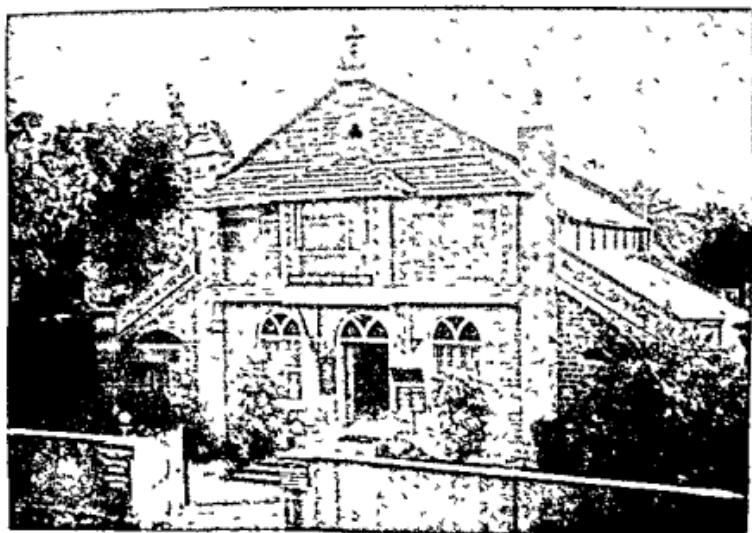


Raja of Bhor.

The Tilak Smarak Mandir, where the Historical Exhibition was held.



The Bhāratā Itihāsa Sanshodhaka Mandala Mandir.



Welcome Speech of Shrimant Pant Saheb Sachiv, Ruler of
Bhor, as Chairman of the Reception Committee
of the All India Modern History Congress held
at Poona on 8th June 1935

Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,

On behalf of the Reception Committee of the All India Modern History Congress, I welcome you all most cordially to this place—Poona—the historic capital of the Mahratta Empire. This place is mentioned in the copper plates, now over a thousand years old, as Poonaka. It was chosen by Bajirao I as a fit place for being turned into a capital. This was at 1729. Poona rapidly grew to be a great centre not only in Western India but a centre rivalling even Delhi. Why, for a short period, during which the Mahrattas were supreme at Delhi, this city may be said to have outstripped it in the political race. It is still a capital of Western India. It was aptly described last year as the intellectual capital of the Presidency by the Vice-Chancellor, speaking on behalf of the Bombay University, at the All India Philosophical Conference.

Unfortunately, this city of ours seems to have suffered from fire more than from any other of the elements. Almost all the great buildings of the Peshwa period, including the seven-storied palace of the Peshwas, have been burnt down during the last century and a quarter, so that there is hardly one building of that period now left in Poona which is worth seeing and showing. I am sorry no attempt has been made for the preservation of typical buildings of the Mahratta Period by any agency, public or private, including the Government. Recently, however, the Government seem to have bestirred themselves a little, and, it is gratifying to note that the palace of the Peshwas, the famous Shanwar Wada, has been taken up for preservation under the Ancient Monuments Preserva-

tion Act. But more ought to be done in this line, so that we may have a clearer idea of 'Poona in bygone days'.

During the past century, Poona witnessed a great movement of education, especially education by private effort, on lines of self-sacrifice, resulting in the foundation of a number of High Schools and Colleges, literary and cultural Societies and Organisations. These are objects of our legitimate pride and are responsible for the kind words of admiration referred to above. I have therefore great pleasure in welcoming you to this City of educational institutions.

Among these institutions, for the students of History, two names are striking in particular—The Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. The first of these has concentrated its attention upon the collection, preservation and publication of documents relating to the History of the Deccan, particularly of the last 500 years, whereas the latter carries on its work in the domain of ancient Indian History. Almost all the publications of the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala are in Marathi, and hence it has been prevented from earning that wide publicity, which in my opinion it richly deserves. The Mandala has already decided upon the publication in English of an illustrated compendium of its work during the last 25 years, in this year of its Silver Jubilee. This will enable the Mandala to reach scholars all over the world.

It was in Poona that the first All India Oriental Conference was organised under the auspices of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, in 1919, in which I played an humble part. The organisers had then roughly put down 1000 A. D. as the period of limitation governing the domain of subjects covered by the word "Oriental." Although subsequently this limitation was not strictly observed and more and more inroads into the domain beyond 1000 A. D. were allowed, still it was obvious that thereby we were trespassing into the fields that could not properly be described as

"Ancient". Need was therefore felt of a separate organisation which would look after the period from 1000 A. D. onwards. That is a period which could be roughly defined as "Modern" and this is what our Congress seeks to cover. It is hence in the fitness of things that the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala should have conceived the idea of organising for the first time an All India Modern History Congress of students and workers in the field of Modern Indian History, and to signalise its Silver Jubilee by thus helping the cause of the advancement of historical scholarship.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I do not claim to be an expert in Indian History. But as a layman who takes interest in history and especially in the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, the building of which I had the honour to open in 1919, I think that one of the greatest needs of the times is the compilation of a thorough, comprehensive and scientific History of India. India is a land of many peoples and races which have warred in the past and yet have lived together, far more peacefully perhaps, than any other people similarly situated. Here side by side have flourished many States following different Faiths. The people of India have kept their doors open to the whole world and Indian hospitality has received unanimous encomia from traders and travellers of far off lands. Indian civilization as a composite whole is an achievement towards which Indians of all castes, creeds and colours have made their respective contributions. This immense and priceless legacy is a common national possession and must be cherished as such by the sons and daughters of the soil.

European scholars deserve our warm thanks for having been the pioneers in the research and writing of the History of India. In the domain of Ancient History their services have been invaluable. But time like distance, always lends enhancement to the view, and when we come nearer our own times where the Europeans like the Indians have been actual

participants in its affairs, no blame attaches to the Europeans, if what they have written sometimes represents only one side of the picture. As real seekers after truth, we need as impartial and fair a story of the achievements of our forefathers as can be gathered from a scientific use of all the sources, both European and Indian.

Of late, it is very gratifying to note, Indians have been gradually shouldering their part of the burden. Indian students and scholars are coming forward in larger numbers to study the history of their country. It was in 1919 that the Government of India founded the Indian Historical Records Commission. The sessions of the Commission held in the various capital cities of the Presidencies of India have given the much-needed impetus to scholars of the Modern History of India, who have thus experienced through their sittings the manifold advantages of common-meetings. However, we have hardly, in my opinion, touched the fringe in this field. From the experience of the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, and scholars working in similar institutions in this part, there is reason to hope that thousands of documents useful to the students of history in its widest sense lie scattered all over the country awaiting the revealing hand of the painstaking researcher. The late Mr. Rajwade dedicated his whole life to this work and went from place to place and door to door, over hills and dales, searching for and collecting documents. With no resources, no Government grant, no University attention, Mr. Rajwade published more than 20 volumes including roughly ten thousand papers and had probably an equal number collected but not published. Many other honourable names of workers such as Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnath and Mr. V. V. Khare from our side could be mentioned in this connection, but my main point is to draw attention to the necessity of first collecting documents and then preserving, editing and publishing them before formal histories could be suitably taken up. Unless therefore this preliminary task, vast and stupendous though it is, is completed, I do not think that our principal aim

of constructing a reliable and thorough history of India can be realised. This is a question for you scholars and students of Indian History to think about, and you have to find out ways and means to solve it in a satisfactory way. Government, Indian States, Universities and the public, including private, literary and research Societies, must come forward to do their own part and help to co-operate in a scheme calculated to bring about the desired result. This, I believe, is a question well-worth engaging your attention during this session of the All India Modern History Congress. Here we may try to lay the foundations of a permanent organisation which will work for the end sketched out above, steadily and regularly, so that within a reasonable period of time and with the earnest co-operation of all, we might see one day the compilation and the construction of a real scientific History of Modern India, which the world will welcome as a great help to the understanding of a great country, and one which will ultimately provide a satisfactory solution of many of our present-day ills. This is a huge task and I humbly invite you to give your best attention to it.

Before concluding, I am happy to say that the Silver Jubilee of Their Majesties' reign which was recently celebrated with great pomp and enthusiasm throughout the British Empire has synchronised with the Silver Jubilee of the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala which is being celebrated at present here. It is, I am really gratified to note, a very happy coincidence and I am confident it will be quite in the fitness of things if I propose to you on behalf of the Congress to send our message of respectful congratulations and greetings on the glorious completion of Their Imperial Majesties' 25 years' unprecedentedly eventful and benevolent reign.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I do not want to anticipate what you are going to do. I have only made a suggestion or two in this short speech of welcome. I am very glad that the idea of holding the Congress has received very warm support from distinguished scholars all over India, and I am much pleased to

see here before me representatives of many distinguished Universities and Societies, which is a clear demonstration of the deep interest felt in this subject. But for that, I am sure, many of you would not have taken the trouble to travel vast distances and meet together in this historic city, which in a way I can claim as mine own. My old State of Bhor, being the only Indian State within this district, claims to have a direct connection with Poona from the days of the Great Shivaji. It was the cradle of Mahratta achievements and fortunately still retains the famous forts of Rajgad and Torna conquered in the beginning by Shivaji the Great and again retaken from the Moghuls by Shankaraji Narayan, my ancestor and founder of my State. Not only that, but I feel proud to state that my State also comprises the modern villages of 'Ving' and 'Shirwal' which had great historical significance even in the days of the Rastrakuta Emperor Dhruva, as mentioned in the Copper Plate exhibits in the Bhor Section of the Exhibition, and dates so far back as Saka 702, i. e. 781 A. D. It has been ascertained by experts that the 'Laghu Ving' and 'Shrimala' (श्रीमाला) mentioned in the plates, coincide with the modern villages of 'Ving' and 'Shirwal' as stated above. I know, from his recent visit to the Itihasa Samshodhak Mandal, that His Excellency Lord Brabourne, the Governor of Bombay, takes a keen interest in our History. It is no wonder, therefore, that he should have readily consented to come down here to inaugurate our proceedings. In the end, I welcome you all again, on behalf of the Reception Committee, and now request His Excellency to open our proceedings, after which, you will proceed to the election of the President and other business. I thank you all very sincerely for your hearty response.

THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS

OF

His Excellency Lord Brabourne, Governor of Bombay
June 8, 1935.

His Excellency said :—

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,

It gives me particular pleasure to welcome you at this Congress because I feel that History is a subject which has not hitherto received the attention which it deserves in India. Human nature is apt to listen more readily to whatever is exciting and romantic than to cold facts, and in consequence politics and light literature have engrossed attention at the expense of history.

The All-India Modern History Congress is, I believe, the first of its kind. It is of good augury that it has been convened by the Mandal whose designation I may translate as the Indian Historical Research Institute, for History is based on the facts discovered by research, and this Congress is a fitting product of the Mandal's jubilee year.

I am glad to learn that the Mandal has decided to publish in English an illustrated compendium of its work during the past 25 years, as this will enable scholars to appreciate and make use of the materials thus brought to light.

The Chairman has quoted a remark of mine in the visit book of this Mandal as though I had claimed some knowledge of history. What I claimed was, in fact, a great interest in and some slight practical knowledge of the preservation, deciphering and compilation of ancient manuscripts, a subject which this Mandal has made its own and which is a subsidiary to history itself.

The object of this Congress is to bring into closer contact all the agencies interested in Modern Indian History. The Bhandarkar Institute has chosen for its field the period of ancient history

up to the year 800 A D The Mandal has wisely omitted the period subsequent to 1818 A D as being too recent to be studied in proper perspective They have selected as their own subject of study the 1000 years from the commencement of the Muhammadan invasions to the establishment of the British power in India This surely is no mean task

I agree with the Chairman that one of the greatest needs of the time is a thorough, comprehensive and scientific History of India but I should prefer to say that the immediate and urgent need is a thorough and scientific study of that history, since that must precede the writing of any history The first thing necessary is the collection of materials, and for this purpose I would particularly stress the vital need of trained research students They must be trained to know what to look for (and this can only be grasped by fully understanding the aim and object of history) secondly, they must know where to find it, and lastly, how to interpret it when found There is, in Bombay at all events, a lack of such trained students, and without them it will not be possible to deal usefully with the large mass of materials available in private houses nor even with edited records

We have in this Presidency two main historical assets the Peshwa's Daftari and the Historical Museum at Satara always associated with the name of Parashnis.

In 1929 Government realising the importance of publishing a selection of the documents of historical value in the Peshwa's Daftari employed Mr G S Sardesai, a well known authority on Maratha History, to make a preliminary survey of the 27 000 bundles of documents Government had the benefit of Sir Jadunath Sarkar's advice regarding the methods of selection, sorting and transcribing of these documents The work has now been finished and 46 volumes covering 8,000 pages have been published Some of the letters are published in the actual handwriting of their authors The letters are published in Marathi with a brief summary in English, and much light from contemporary sources has thus been thrown on Maratha history

The Satara Museum contains historical materials of first rate importance, such as a full series of despatches from

Generals and Ambassadors, reports from Agents and spies, and newsletters addressed to the Peshwa's Government from camps and courts.

I am, however, especially glad to hear that private houses are also being searched for the valuable materials they are certain to contain. History, as the study of the inter-actions and reactions of societies, one upon another, and of the habits of the man in society, must concern itself chiefly with the average man and his habits of life and thought. The true measure of historical change lies in the change in the lives, habits and thoughts of the ordinary man. Very little knowledge is at present available on this subject in India. All Historians know of the great light that has been thrown on the earlier History of England by the gradual publication of some of the mass of historical material stored away in the archives of the old country houses there. When, therefore, one hears that here in India the records not only of palaces and offices are being searched, but also of private houses, one feels that progress is on the right road.

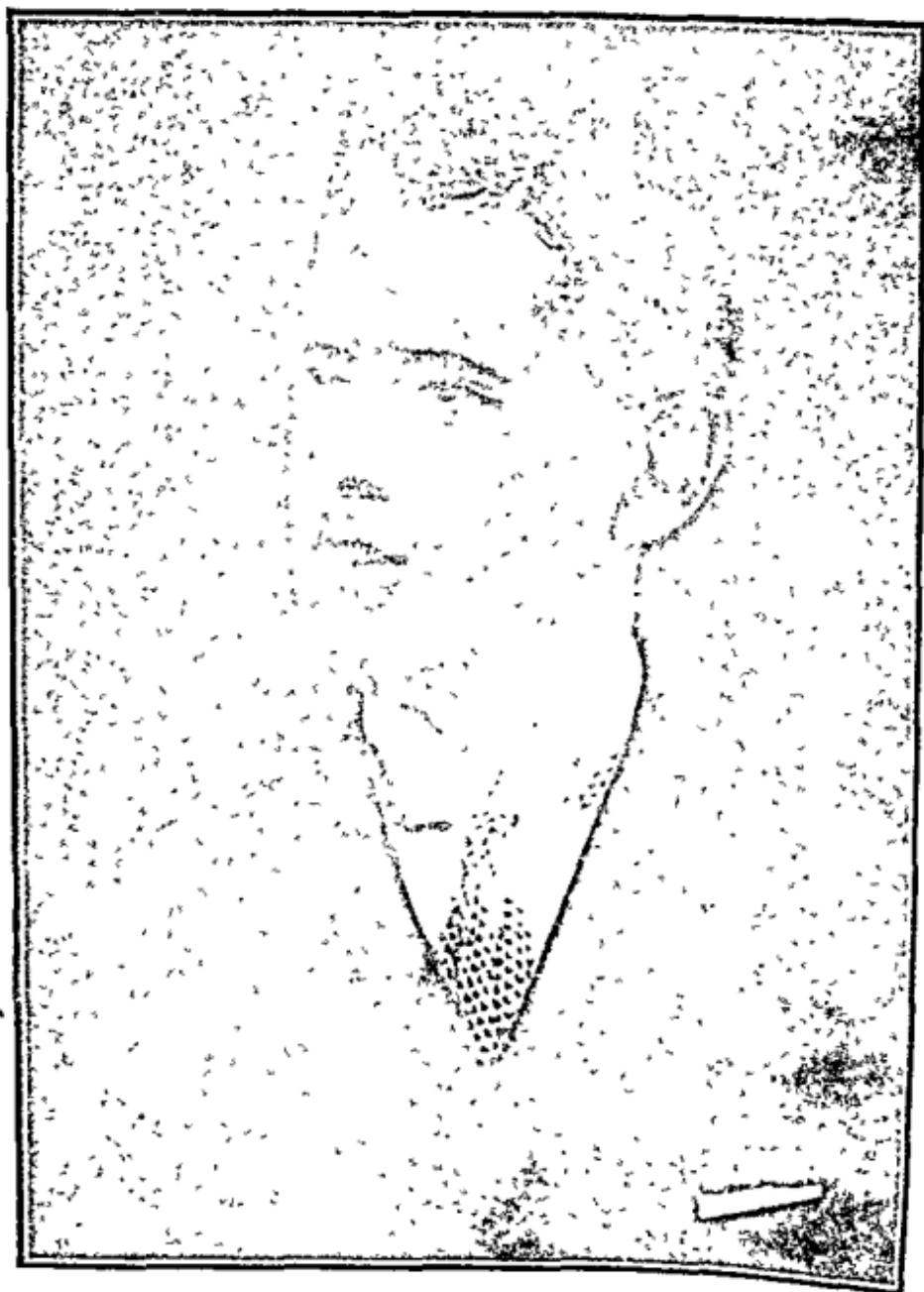
I do not think that at the present time in India there can be any more wholesome study than that of history, nor any more necessary development than the growth of the historical sense. The tendency of modern politics and modern journalism is all in the direction of short views and sensationalism. The tongue and the pen are often used to attract attention, excite feeling, and to gain the victory of the moment at the expense of reason, proportion and truth. Scientific and impartial history must confine itself to facts, to causes and effects. The historian must be impartial not only, as the Chairman has said, between Europeans and Indians, but between Indian and Indian. To achieve impartiality he must rid himself of preconceived notions, whether they are based on prejudice, philosophy or religion. It is easy to pick out events which confirm a certain theory of life, but the historian must start from no such theories. He must not take for granted that there was a golden age in the past from which we have fallen, nor that we are working up towards a golden future. He must not accept blindly the divine right or inevitability of any institution or custom, nor the sanctity of theories of the rights of man. Nor must he judge actions and

events in the terms of morals or ethics. The work of the historian is merely to calculate the results of event upon event and action upon action

Whatever this Congress can do to encourage the study of the past with the cool, dispassionate intelligence of the historian, will be a sound beginning to supply one of the main intellectual needs of India at the present day.

It is my sincere hope that the devoted labours of such men as Sane, Khare, Rajwade and Parasnath, who have been pioneers in historical research in this Presidency, may inspire some of the younger students of history to give their time and abilities to the investigation of the past records of their country in the true spirit of research.

I now declare this, the first All-India Modern History Congress, open, and I venture to express the hope that this Congress will be looked back to as the one at which the seeds of, much good and fruitful work were planted.



Dr. Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan,
President of the A. I. M. H. Congress.

Working Committee Members waiting to receive His Excellency.



[Hidayatulla, Deshpande, Sharma, Raja of Bhor, Potdar, N. C. Kelkar, Yuvaraj of Bhor, Baba Deshpande, Patwardhan, Ghorpade, Tavade, Gode and others].

His Excellency received at the door

The Raja of Bhor, Dr. Aiyangar, Prof. Potdar, others are seen.



PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

OF

SIR SHAFA'AT AHMAD KHĀN, Kt., Litt. n.

PRESIDENT

ALL INDIA MODERN HISTORY CONGRESS,
POONA, June 8, 1935.

Your Excellency, Raja Sahib of Bhor, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am deeply grateful to you for the honour you have conferred upon me by asking me to preside over the deliberations of the All India Modern History Congress. I feel that I am the least worthy of this honour, as the little work that I have attempted, in a limited field of Indian History, does not entitle me to the presidency of a body, wherein are gathered together all the brilliant intellects of a wonderfully virile and progressive province, where intellect and character are so happily blended and poised, that it is difficult to mark off a scholar from a man of action. Maharashtra has always struck me as preeminently the territory wherein the noblest and choicest gifts of mind have served the highest and truest ends of prudent statesmanship and far-sighted reforms. The names of Rānādē and Tilak conjure up visions of intellectual giants who did not lay aside their pens in the vigorous and strenuous pursuit of political and social endeavour. One could go farther back and recall scholarly Peshwas and their learned advisers laying aside for a moment—but only for a brief though exciting interlude—their sustained and laborious researches into abstruse studies, and planning either the conquest of my own home-land, the Rohilkhand division in the United Provinces, or the administration of a mighty province in

North India. I do not indulge in a vein of mock modesty when I state that I find myself singularly disqualifed for the onerous responsibility which your kindness and indulgence have laid on my shoulders. As you have been kind enough to confer this honour on me, I will try to discharge my obligations to the best of my limited ability.

THE MAHARASHTRA SCHOOL OF HISTORIANS

Ladies and Gentlemen, The All India Modern History Congress owes its birth to the foresight and energy of a band of brilliant scholars in Maharashtra, who conceived the idea of organizing a body that will serve as the focus of Indian historical research, by which the unconnected and the uncoordinated researches, which are being prosecuted in different parts of India, will be systematised and duly arranged. It will be an authoritative organ of historical scholarship, imbued with the principles which have made history in the West almost an exact science, and guided by canons which are acknowledged to be essential for the objective and scientific study of this subject. The object is one with which every scholar will sympathise, and I have no doubt whatsoever that this lusty baby, fondled with the paternal care and affection, which only the Maharashtra people know how to bestow, will develop into a powerful and vigorous individual, with a tremendous capacity for hard and laborious work, and a graceful plasticity, characteristic of the true child of Maharashtra, capable alike of assimilating new material and initiating new enterprises. The need for such a body had long been felt, and historians in the north, no less than in the south of India, had constantly pressed for the establishment of such an institution. In my own province, researches are carried on by the Universities of Lucknow, Allahabad, Benares, Agra and Aligarh, and there are some very promising students in these Universities, with a record of original work which will compare favourably with that conducted in other parts of India. In Bengal, the Calcutta Historical Society, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca, have published works of an exceedingly high order, throwing new light on some of the most obscure and gloomy recesses of our national

pains with a peculiar aptitude for action. Into the dry bones of history, and the musty worm-eaten parchments, was infused a life which has changed the structure of Indian thought and action. The work done by the *Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal* has elicited warm praise from every historical scholar, and no student of seventeenth, eighteenth or nineteenth century Indian history can afford to ignore it. It is of supreme value to students of modern Indian history, and India owes a debt of gratitude to the men who have worked unostentatiously, for a number of years, and placed the history of the *Mahratta* people on a secure and firm basis. Mention may be made, in this connection, of the researches conducted by the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Historical Research Institute of St. Xavier's College, and the works of Hodiwala, Modi and others.

POSITION OF HISTORIANS IN INDIA AND OUTSIDE

I have given this brief survey to show that a great deal of research work is being carried on in different parts of India on various periods of Indian history. Necessarily, it is a work of varying degrees of importance. In some cases, where supervision and guidance have been effectively exercised, the results have been excellent. It can compare favourably with the products of some of the best and most authoritative treatises in Germany or England. The data have been carefully sifted, conclusions have been tentatively drawn, and the apparatus of historical criticism has been applied with due regard to the nature of the material and the atmosphere of the period. On the other hand, several works have been published lately, in which racial bias is so palpable and gross, that no historian can approve of them. They are appallingly partisan and partial. I do not think that such cases are peculiar to India. On the contrary, you find examples of it throughout the world, where each new Dictator commandeers Universities and schools and orders the writing of history according to the strictest principles and practice of his theories. I have not read many books on the history of Mexico during the last sixty years, but I imagine that it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to carry on researches into Mexican history with complete impartiality and publish a history of Porforio Diaz during the

sion and disorder. Neither view would, in my humble opinion, be correct. There are no immutable laws ordaining the development of any people by fixed and regular stages. History has not yet attained the status of an exact science, and human motives and natural forces, which constantly act and react, can not be calculated in a mathematical form with the precision and rigidity of a Euclidean proposition. The Newtonian equipoise, which some historians take for granted in the fascinating pursuit of mathematical and scientific inquiry, is a clear indication of the necessity of guarding against ideas, imaginatively conceived, by a continued process of make-shift in policy seeking to cover itself by the make-believe of verbiage. This theory of the science of history identifies the real with the ideal and, carried to its logical limits, it will make every stage in our national history the realisation of the highest moral ideal. The Hegelian conception of history, when applied to the concrete facts of Indian development, will make moral shipwreck of our most cherished traditions and ideals, and condemn us to a pharisaical defence of the most iniquitous acts perpetrated by some of the worst tyrants in some parts of India during the last one thousand years. It surely is not necessary, either for the efficacy of our new-born zeal for "evolutionary history", or for the application of some fanciful scheme conceived in moments of frenzy, to champion fervently a doctrine which is historically inaccurate and morally indefensible.

THE CONFLICT OF CULTURES AND OBJECTIVE STANDARDS

What then should be the attitude of historians in India? Should they roll up like a scroll events that have moulded the fate of millions of persons during the last one thousand years, and treat everything that has occurred since as an unfortunate incident in the chequered annals of our country? Are the glories of Akbar and the flowering of our racial self-consciousness in the Konkan valley, in the land of the five rivers, as well as, in the scorching torrid plains of Hindustan and Rajputana, to be relegated to the limbo of oblivion? Can we start with a clean slate and try to construct a Utopia, wherein the Indian world of to-day would

be drastically remade? I have put these questions in the boldest and crudest form, in order that the position which Indian historians ought to occupy should be made clear. The historian of India is presented with difficulties which are without a parallel in other countries. We have, at one and the same time, two mighty cultures, existing side by side, working irresistibly, by the sheer force and momentum of their existence, into the very nerve and fibre of their respective adherents. A conflict is inevitable whenever culture is armed with power, and the conflict goes on with complete disregard of the genuine merits of the rival cultures. Clashes occur with startling frenzy and ferocity. The opprobrious expressions regarding the Hindus, which Amir Khusrau uses in his *Khazāinul Futuh*, can be paralleled by some passages in the writings of many an author in South India. It seems at first, that contact is impossible, and toleration, which has been incorporated in the pattern of our ordinary life, is out of question. Gradually, however, we find emerging a feeling of appreciation, crystallizing ultimately into a synthesis of Hindu and Moslem cultures. This reached its fullest and perfect development in the reign of our national king Akbar the Great. We find a number of Moslems in his reign who had attained considerable proficiency in Sanskrit. Al Beruni led the way and was followed by numerous others. Maulana Izud-din-Khalid Khani was ordered by Firoz Shah to compile a work on philosophy which he called *Dalāyl Firoz Shahi*. In the reign of Akbar we have Faizi, Abdul Kadir, Nakib Khan, Mulla Shah Muhaminad, Mulla Shabri, Sultan Haji, Haji Ibrahim and many others. In Bengal, Muslim savants and rulers devoted their life to the propagation of indigenous culture. The Hindus, particularly the Kāyasthas, Khatris and Kashmiris, attained a mastery of Persian, and even Arabic, which was hardly inferior to the skill and knowledge displayed by the Muslims in their own languages. The two cultures, as well as the two races coalesced, for all practical purposes, so far as the interests of the State were concerned and we attained a conception of a common nationality which worked with irresistible force in the palmy days of the Mughal Empire. I am not competent to speak of the South, but I believe I am correct in saying that the movement in the South, too, ran pari passu with that in the

North. During the strife of cultures as well as of governments it was inevitable that the two races should express their hostility in their writings. History never speaks with two voices; but in the case of some historians there is such a chasm that it is difficult to arrive even at an approximation to truth, if we read only one version. The Muslim historians of the reign of Aurangzib could not, and did not, look on the life and achievements of the great Maharashtra hero, Shivaji, with the same feeling with which he was regarded throughout the length and breadth of the Maharashtra. We must not overlook real difficulties by simply shutting our eyes to them or deliberately ignoring them. We have to admit the fact that it is difficult to assess the real merit of a policy or of a ruler, whether in Northern or Southern India, if we confine our gaze solely to the partial, blurred and, in some cases, perverted accounts of partisan writers. Objective history is impossible if the tales told by credulous, intolerant and fanatical adherents of either side are served up as a sober recital of authenticated and true facts. The same spirit runs through many of the histories written during the mediaeval period of Indian history. Writers who supply accurate data are exceedingly rare, while panegyrists, courtiers, bards and persons intoxicated with religious frenzy abound. The Indian historian must, therefore, guard himself against the risks to which this conflict between the two cultures peculiarly exposes him. The history of Germany, France, England and other organized States is comparatively simple, as the differences that divided the Parisian from the Norman, the Gascon from the Breton, have completely disappeared, and there is only one country with which a French historian is concerned, *La Belle France*. In Germany, the quarrels between the Guelf and Ghibelline, between the Prussian and the Bavarian, are completely forgotten, and we have now a steam-roller constantly at work, levelling down all provincial, racial and class barriers. In India we have not arrived at a stage when the differences of religion could be completely ignored in our treatment of controversial periods of Indian history. It may be confessed, and I do so quite frankly and without the least hesitation, that the history of the Punjab from 1780 to 1848, the history of the Deccan from 1670 to 1730, the history of Bengal from 1756 onward, the entire administration of Lord Dalhousie,

and the whole reign of Emperor Aurangzib, have been written with a certain bias, and there is a close, if not exact, resemblance in spirit and method between the histories of Ireland in the 17th and 18th centuries, and the monographs, brochures and forbidding tomes on those critical and controversial periods of Indian History. There are some European, Hindu, and Muslim historians who have risen above the narrow and limited confines of prejudice and passion and have furnished a wonderful example of impartiality which it behoves every one of us to imitate. Could we not give a lead to the rest of India by purging our minds of the gross prejudice which hampers at every step the orderly progress of an art which, with all its imperfections, is the supreme art for the statesman, the patriot and the student? Should history be tied to the chariot wheels of perverted sectionalism, deriving its strength from a mass of passionate material, which may have been useful during the time it was written, but is now acting as a most serious obstacle to the growing nationalism of India as a whole? Could we not decide on the launching of a campaign that will clear up the miasma of suspicion, insinuation and downright untruth, which is served up as history to the virile and hardy youth of India? Are the foundations of national unity to be undermined by the insidious statements of a third or fourth-rate penny-a-liner, who serves his own ends and lines his pockets by catering to the lowest and basest instincts of racialism, and holds up to ridicule and contempt persons, whether Hindu or Moslem, who are honoured and respected by millions in this land? I have been watching the onset of this disease for some years and I can no longer remain silent. It has a far-reaching effect on the future of our entire political structure, for the ideas that take root in the formative and impressionable years of youth are difficult to dislodge, and the prejudices of worthless history text-books are imported into the Council Chamber, the market place and the public platform. Let me make an appeal, not merely to the professional writer of school text-books, but also to the historical scholar himself, to whatever locality or sect he may belong. While a search for truth must be carried on without the least regard for personalities, and our researches must be conducted in an atmosphere of complete

impartiality, Indian historians should aim, not at emphasizing or accentuating differences, but discussing that subject from the point of view solely of research. History is not propaganda, nor is it publicity. It avoids Hollywood and its film fans, its super stars and budding stars etc. It is a cold dispassionate examination of records, conducted in a spirit of severe impartiality and complete neutrality, and a careful deduction of conclusions from the material that has been rigorously sifted. It is essentially the *archive* method of history that appeals to me and to historians in general. We do not start with a fixed idea and devote years to the elaboration of our curious prejudices and sub-conscious impulses. In objective history there are neither prejudices nor passions, but a keen and earnest desire to seek the truth, and a mind which, braced up for the laborious task, is always open, frank and impartial. This is the attitude of a historical researcher, and I am confident that I am voicing your feelings when I say that this is the object at which Indian historians ought to aim.

OFFICIAL AND STATE AGENCIES

Let me complete my account of historical societies by mentioning the excellent work done by the Government of India in preserving the antiquities of this country and fostering research. I am not competent to discuss the work of the Archaeological Department, nor does it come within the purview of this Congress. But I feel that the striking work carried on by the Indian Historical Records Commission ought to be gratefully acknowledged by all scholars. It may not be great in bulk, but it is certainly great in promise and greater still in the unique facilities for mutual exchange of views and heart to-heart discussion, which the meetings of the Indian Historical Records Commission generally provide. As one who has been a member of that body for a number of years, I can say without any hesitation that the inspiration which most of us drew from a concourse of brilliant men, whose names are a household word throughout India, the momentum which such gatherings produced were of the highest value in fostering a spirit of comradeship among members of our craft. The Com-

mission has undoubtedly done good work and, if financial stringency had not proved the main obstacle, it would have done much more useful work during the last three years. Mention may also be made of the reports of the Archaeological Department, as well as, memoirs published by them at various periods. Some of the memoirs have been written with special knowledge and deserve careful study by students of Muslim art and architecture. Local Governments have not been idle, and both the Bombay and Madras Governments have published very useful calendars and press-lists on the 17th and 18th century. The Madras Records Office was reorganized by Mr. Dodwell with great care and interest, and the publications issued from there have been of the greatest value to students of British Indian History. The Punjab Government has also published selections, while the lists published by the Bengal Government have supplemented, in material particulars, information at our disposal.

I cannot speak of many States from personal knowledge but, as one who toured through and inspected the Libraries and Record Offices of Gwalior, Jodhpur, Udaipur, Indore, Jaipur and Hyderabad Deccan, I can say without hesitation that the material preserved in these States is of the highest value. Some States have developed Record Offices with great care and attention, but it will be very invidious on my part to single them out here. Historical research is, however, considerably hampered in some States, and investigation into the origin and foundation of the new States that have arisen over the debris of old kingdoms or empires is by no means relished by certain rulers. Apart altogether from this aspect, it must be conceded that a number of Indian States have co-operated whole-heartedly in the process, while there are a number of rulers whose devotion to the history, culture, and art of their country is unrivalled in India. The President of the Reception Committee of this Congress is a shining example of the ruler of a State, who combines in his person devotion to culture and fostering care for the material welfare of his subjects. In a movement for the organization of historical research the co-operation of Indian States is absolutely vital.

THE NEED FOR CO-ORDINATION

Ladies and Gentlemen, from this brief analysis of existing Societies it is clear that there is in India a vast amount of unorganized material, and considerable work is being done on important periods of Indian history by Societies and by the provincial and central Governments. I have not mentioned here the labours of private individuals who have carried on their researches without any special aid from organizations. Their number is fairly large and some of them are still happily with us. I may also refer here to the work in Indian History by European savants and scholars. It is a work of special value to us, as it represents the ripe scholarship, the balanced view and dispassionate judgment of a group of men who can truly be called pioneers in their respective fields. A tradition of scholarship was built up by the early English administrators of India, and it was maintained and even enhanced by some who combined rare intellectual gifts and critical acumen with great practical insight and administrative capacity. If we take into account the work of the institutions mentioned above, together with the treatises published by numerous writers, it will be found that the amount of material at our disposal is sufficiently vast. But most of this work is unco-ordinated. Each organization is working entirely in its own sphere, and is completely out of touch with the work, the needs and requirements of other bodies. There is not even informal contact with institutions *inter se*, and this chaotic and confused state of affairs has gone on for a considerable period. In ancient Indian history, the Government of India wisely took the lead, and, under the fostering care of its enlightened guidance helped by the active zeal and energy of a number of Indian Universities, there is an amount of unity in the organization of this subject which is sadly lacking in modern Indian history. The lack of any co-ordination has rendered it almost impossible for researchers in various periods to keep abreast of the researches of other workers in their own country. In Calcutta alone there are four important organizations carrying on historical research with great ability and zeal, yet there is no co-ordination among these bodies. The Universities are the foundry in which investigations are normally carried on, and it is through them

that the young carry on the torch of learning and illumine the dark recesses of the National story throughout the four corners of the world. Strange to say, there is no co-operation even among Indian Universities in the domain of research, and research scholars in different Universities are ploughing their lonely furrow utterly oblivious of the quality or quantity of work conducted by their contemporaries in neighbouring institutions. This disorganization has become almost a scandal, and the worker in the field has to create for himself the most rudimentary and elementary material, sometimes with the crudest devices, and prosecute his study in an atmosphere of uncertainty and vagueness. It is only through journals that he comes across workers on his subject in other fields, and then only if he cares to order the journals and accumulate, after considerable trouble and expense, the scattered material. This is not an atmosphere in which research can be profitably prosecuted, nor is the spirit created by discouraging conditions sufficiently strong to resist the tendency towards immature and unsatisfactory work.

SOME FRESH FIELDS FOR RESEARCH

Our preoccupation with the purely political history of India is responsible for the most unfortunate conception of Indian Society, and trite and mechanical repetition is often indulged in, for instance, to illustrate the anarchy and confusion in 18th century India. This would have lost a great deal of its force, if some of us had undertaken a systematic study of those fundamental bases of our national life which have acted and are still serving as sustaining pillars of Indian Society. None has seriously undertaken a scientific study of village organization in India in the 18th century, though Panchyat has acted as a most important social unit in our national development. We have had brilliant studies on the history of the English, parish; while the history of the English borough has claimed a succession of able and devoted workers, whose industry has changed in a striking degree our crude and bizarre ideas of local self-government which prevailed till that time. I need only mention the honoured names of Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb. The German Universities are a bee-hive of industry and research, and German towns have been the subject

of solid and painstaking investigations by a growing band of young and enthusiastic workers. They have carried on their work in a spirit of piety and zeal, tempered by a strong dose of sound commonsense and impartiality. England has not lagged behind other countries, and the series published in the *Victoria County History* represents the profound research, dispassionate judgment and provincial patriotism of some of the ablest historians of England. I have given these two examples to show the importance which historians all over the world attach to what is popularly called local history. I will not deal here with the marvellous work done by the band of economic historians of mediæval England, Germany and France, nor can I discuss here the vigorous schools founded by these writers. We have only just begun the study of our mediæval and ancient institutions, and it is only within comparatively recent times that such studies have been prosecuted. There are towns in India which are more sacred and evoke warmer feelings of devotion and piety than any place in any part of the world. Around them cluster sentiments alike of religion and of patriotism, and from them are propagated ideas and movements which have frequently changed the map of India. Yet there are few good histories of such towns. Bombay has, no doubt, produced some able annalists, and the long history of that graceful city has been recorded by a few brilliant writers in a few solid monographs. Calcutta and Madras have also claimed their champions, but the chequered history of Lahore is described in a dull and laborious work, while some of the most important Indian towns have remained unnoticed and unrecorded. Poona stands for the glory and splendour of the Mahratta power. It stands for the supreme part which it has played in many of the most important movements, political and social, of modern times. The intellectual virility of its citizens ought to have been expressed in a monumental work on the rise and growth of their beautiful city. Yet, I have not come across any important work in English tracing the history of this city with the wealth of detail and industry which we expect from its foremost citizens. I need not mention other towns of India. The subject opens up a brilliant vista of an unexplored field which is awaiting an energetic corps of enthusiastic workers. I have indicated briefly only one line of

should perform the function of an Academy and regulate the standards with strenuous vigilance and scrupulous honesty.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have dealt at some length with the work of this Congress as I feel, and I am sure I am voicing your sentiments in this matter when I say that the progress of historical study in this country will depend, to a large extent, upon the direction and guidance furnished by this body. If we are able to establish our new organization on sound lines, if historical investigators in all parts of India look up to us for advice and guidance, if the work entrusted by this body to persons in whom it reposes confidence is faithfully discharged, we shall have succeeded in changing, in a very short time, our conception of the entire frame-work of Indian historical thought. A very heavy responsibility lies upon us—a responsibility of whose gravity and complexity nobody is more conscious than myself. While the responsibility is great, greater is the opportunity which such a body affords to scholars. What then are the functions of the Congress? Along what lines should its activities be directed, if the work performed by it is to be commensurate with the amount of labour involved therein? What are the main problems upon which our attention should be focussed?

These are some of the questions which inevitably arise in any consideration of Indian historical problems. Before the Congress can organize its work and initiate new lines of policy, it ought to be in a position to understand the relative importance of the different epochs into which our history is conveniently divided, and evaluate the material which is the main source for the formulation of our conclusions. I do not wish to discuss here the lines of inquiry which should be undertaken, or the weight of authority and credibility which should be attached to the history written during the period. Such detailed and minute work is best reserved for a monograph or a treatise, and I should be wasting your time if I occupy myself with an elaborate disquisition on the comparative merits of different historians. I shall, however, be failing in my duty as Chairman of this honourable and august body, if I do not indicate to you the serious gaps and lacunae in the important periods of our history and the methods by which they can be filled.

I do this, because I feel that historical scholars should concentrate on a well organized movement for filling in gaps in some of the most important and critical stages of our national history. The sketch, and it is an exceedingly brief sketch, will show that there is an enormous amount of field to be traversed by us. The problems that are awaiting sound solution are so many and varied that it is difficult for any one person to solve them single-handed. Solution must come with co-operation and mutual help expressed through an organization of this kind. The sketch is necessarily brief, and is confined to points which deserve fuller study and investigation by Indian scholars. Again, in dealing with mediaeval India, I have to confine myself to Northern India, as my knowledge of South Indian languages and literature is almost *nil*, and is derived mainly from authorities printed in the English language, and I am not competent to speak with authority on many of the subjects which have served the starting point of some brilliant inquiries recently instituted in Southern India.

SURVEY OF EPOCHS: THE PRE-MOGHUL PERIOD

What are the chief points on which Indian scholars should concentrate in order that a correct and impartial view of our country's growth may be formed? Let me start first with the pre-Moghul period. This is an exceedingly difficult period, for we have to rely in many cases on the professional panegyrists of the Sultans, who were commissioned to write history and were bound to praise the monarch who had raised them to the exalted position of historiographers. They are histories written to order and showing, by the exuberance of their language, the pomposity of their style, and withal a sprinkling of metaphors and hyperboles and devices, of alliteration, the utter lack of balance and sound judgment on the most ordinary and commonplace actions of the Emperor. One has only to read the stilted phraseology and appalling metaphors of Amir Khusrau to be convinced of this statement. He is a typical example of this species of historiographer. He lived long enough to serve under Balban, Kaikobad, Jalaluddin Khilji, Alauddin Khilji, Kutbuddin Mubarak Khilji, Kbusru Shah

and Ghiyāsuddin Tughluq, and bestowed fulsome praise on each and every one of them. Most of you are, no doubt, aware of the works of Khusrau, but if anybody has not read any, I will recommend Professor Habib's translation of *Khazain-ul-Futuh*. That will give some idea of the flamboyant language used by this writer, and bring home to many persons the difficulty, in some cases the impossibility, of constructing a scientific history out of such appalling material. As a general rule, the task of compiling historical records in pre-Moghul India was entrusted to those who were under the patronage of the court, and, as it was their duty to carry out the orders of their sovereigns, it is not surprising that much of the so-called history of the period is "official" history, or history written with the specific and avowed object of praising the reigning monarch and extolling his virtues to the skies. Muhammad Ufi, Hasan Nizāmi, Minhājus Siraj, Amir Khusrau, Ziyauddin Barni, to some extent Shamsi Siraj Afif, and Yahya-bin-Abdullah were all courtiers who basked in the sunshine of royal favour. The "histories" they wrote, if not inspired by the court, were written under its influence and patronage, and there is no dearth of high-flown and exaggerated metaphors and deliberate and calculated examples of *suppressio veri*. The violent denunciation and unbalanced language of Ziyauddin Barni, regarding the measures and achievements of Kaikobād, Khusrau Shah and Muhammad Tughluq, shake one's faith both in the sanity and moderation of the man, and in the sound commonsense and judgment of the historian. In order to heighten the contrast in favour of Firoz Tughlak, Ziyauddin Barni sometimes suppresses the benevolent measures of Muhammad Tughluq. If a court historian failed to discharge his duties satisfactorily, if his standard fell short of that set up by his predecessors, he was promptly relegated to the shelf.

THE MOGHUL PERIOD

Emperor Shah Jahān, who wished to imitate the glory and splendour of Akbar's reign, wanted another Abul Fazl and called on Muhammad Aminai Qazwini and Tabātabāi to his aid. When they failed to realise his expectations, Abdul

Hamid Lahori was appointed. The greatest example of a court historian, is, however, furnished by Abul Fazl. He was, not an ordinary historiographer, with a commonplace stock of stilted phrase and appalling metaphors, and plebeian similes, but a brilliant and accomplished administrator well-versed in the practical problems of administration and dowered with a mind of singular plasticity and brilliance. The arrangements made by the great Akbar were on a scale that has rarely been attempted by any other Moghul ruler. The records of all departments were placed at his disposal, and private individuals were requested to reduce their memories and recollections of important measures to writing. The response to this appeal by the Emperor seems to have been fairly successful, and the results of Abul Fazl's labours were embodied in his monumental work, the *Akbar Nāmah* and its adjunct, the *Ain-i-Akbari*. These two works represent an amount of labour and industry which no individual could have accomplished without the help and patronage of the court. It is a noble monument to a gracious monarch and is a mine of information to every student of history. Its treasures have been frequently utilised by modern writers, but the wealth of material which it contains has not yet been effectively tapped. Neither Babar nor Jahāngīr appointed court historians, though Mu'tamad Khan, to a certain extent, performed the functions of a historiographer. Aurangzib appointed Mumahamad Kasim and the first ten years of the Emperor's regime are recorded in the *Ālamgīr Nāmah*. The post of court-historian then fell into desuetude, and we are henceforward forced to rely upon private enterprise.

I have necessarily compressed the material on such a vast subject, as the problem with which we are faced is an essentially practical one. What should be our attitude towards these histories? Are they to be taken at their face value? Should our history be constructed out of these panegyring prose, in which all the arts of accomplished courtiers are lavished on the production of stilted and artificial apology? Should the political fancies of persons intoxicated with their love of hyperbole and verbosity be deemed a durable and strong foundation for objective history? My answer unhesitat-

ingly is, Most certainly not. We must use with the greatest caution inspired eulogies of kings who fed, clothed and maintained these courtiers. While we cannot ignore Amir Khusru, or omit to study *Qiranus Sa'dain*, *Khazain-ul-Futuh*, *Tughluq Nämah*, *Nuh Sipahr*, *Deval Devi Khier Khani*, we must, remember all along that we are reading chronicles of courtiers containing a small amount of solid matter and a very large amount of romance and imagination. In such works, accuracy is sacrificed to literary finish, and an event is distorted in order that the metaphor may be apt and a sentence may be rounded off with a brilliant phrase. The crude devices of appalling antitheses are mechanically employed, and the effect of elaborate and almost pyramidal piling up of metaphors, similes and hyperboles is almost suffocating. Abul Fazl is, no doubt, an exception. There is a certain fineness of contour about him, not at all gross or coarse, in the setting of silky and gaudy furnishings. The drawbacks of the other writers are made worse by their violent prejudices. The fanaticism which burns, luridly in describing the demolition of temples, or of mosques, and the organisation of a campaign, may repel a beginner at first sight, but the phenomenon is so general, the phraseology employed is so crude and mechanical that one is sometimes forced to put the question, Why does not the past decently bury itself instead of waiting to be admired by the present? History seems to look like Adonis, fully prepared for an unconscionable time in dying. But this will be a wrong impression altogether, as words had ceased to have effect on such writers. They had ceased to arouse curiosity or excite indignation, but were incorporated in the pattern of daily life and intercourse, as the characteristic expression of the tragic muse, expressing itself in high-flown phraseology and rhodomontade. Modern historians must take these factors into account in evaluating the primary sources of the Muslim period; then only will they be able to assess the value of court histories. Had it been possible for us to discard these productions and rely entirely upon the unaided and independent writings of persons who were swayed neither by court frowns and favours, nor by fanatical zeal and prejudice, the task of Indian historians would have been greatly facilitated. But we cannot and ought not to take such a course, as it will deprive us of our main source for the study of that period. We cannot

utilise histories written by persons in their private capacity, no their number during the Sultanate period is insignificant. Ibn Batutah and Abdur Razzāk supply very strong and, in some cases, effective correctives to court panegyrists, and Ziauddin Barni's glaring and violent prejudices are corrected by the comparative impartiality and shrewdness of Ibn Batutah. Razzāk's account takes note of the conditions of the common people, the customs and traditions of various classes, while the court of Vijayanager is described in a series of inimitable chapters, which throw considerable light on the achievements of that empire. Unfortunately, there are few other books which could be added to the small list of foreign travellers, and we are forced to rely upon the unbalanced and distorted account of court historians. In the discussion and analysis of court history we must distinguish between histories and historiess. There are some works of the highest value to the student and few scholars can afford to ignore them. No student of Moghul India can remain ignorant of Abul Fazl's masterpiece, while the student of Shah Jahān and Aurangzeb has to study with close and sustained attention the histories written by the court historians. Moreover, during the Moghul period we have works written by private persons, which are of the highest value. Mullah 'Abdul Kādir Badauni is not an impartial writer as the style of the book and the temperament and expressions of the historian will show. But he supplies a much needed corrective to the fulsome eulogies and gross flattery of his rival Abul Fazl. Badauni's style is trenchant, vigorous and clear, and in his history he has struck an entirely new line by castigating some of the innovations of the ruling king, and subjecting them to a barrage of very keen criticism. The Memoirs of Gulbadan Begam, of Jauhar, Bāyazid, Wāqī'ūti Muṣṭaqā'i, Wikāya-i-Asad Beg, Amal-i-Sūleh of Muhammad Salih Kambu, the Muntakhab-ut Tarārikh, the Tabqāti Akbari of Nizāmuddin, Iqbāl Nūmah of Mu'tamad Khan, the work of 'Ārif, Muhammad Qandhari and a large number of Shah Jahān Nūmah, besides Munikhābul Lubāb, are only a few of a large number of works written in the 16th and 17th centuries. Of Memoirs written by Emperors, I need only mention two. Every one has read the memoirs of Babar and every student to Moghul history is acquainted with the Tuzuk Jahāngiri.

There is another class of material in vernacular which should be taken into account in a discussion of the primary sources of Indian history. We have a large collection of *Farmāns* lying scattered throughout the length and breadth of India, which are of the greatest value to the historian. The number of *Farmāns* is exceedingly large but no systematic attempt has so far been made to collect them in a central place. Their value varies, but they are of special importance for the study of Moghul institutions and procedure. The material in the vernaculars is growing rapidly and the information contained therein is supplemented by the wealth and variety of documents which the patient research of some devoted savants has brought to light. Pandit Gauri Shankar Ojha has written valuable works on some Rajput States on the basis of materials collected by him; the Bharat Itihas Sampshodhak Mandal of Poona has earned the gratitude of Indian scholars by the devotion and zeal it has displayed in preserving and utilising the material in Marāthi, while the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal has published a number of very competent and sound monographs on some of the most obscure periods of mediaeval Indian history. The number of Hindi, Marāthi and Bengali documents that are of importance to the students must be considerable and an organized effort ought to be made to collect them. The manuscript material on the history of Muslim kings of Delhi is fairly large. Leaving aside the provincial kingdoms, it appears, from a work published by Khan Bahadur Zafar Hasan, that, out of 307 works in Persian, only 53 have been printed so far. Of this number, only a small proportion has been translated into English. Besides works in Persian, Arabic and Indian vernaculars, we have accounts published by foreign travellers. Their number is considerable though their value varies. Some are of great importance, while others contain garbled accounts of customs and manners of the people and are prejudiced, partial and misleading.

THE NEED FOR MORE INTENSIVE WORK

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am afraid I have wearied you with the dreary recital of works which are known to every student of our historical literature. It is not my object to

·supply you with a catalogue of books and manuscripts but to point out a few suggestions for research work in India. We have been accustomed to go through familiar works so often that no systematic efforts have been made for increasing the range or depth of our knowledge. The same monotonous and almost mechanical repetition of hackneyed manuscripts, the same trite and commonplace remarks, and precisely the same method and manner! We are so conservative and hide-bound by custom and tradition that it seems difficult to strike a new line, or initiate a new departure. Very few manuscripts have been printed in recent years, while the generation of European scholars represented by Smith, Lane-Poole, Raverty, Grant Duff, Malcolm and Kaye has passed away, leaving few worthy successors to take their place. True, we have a few living in our own times, who are trying to keep up the old tradition. But their number could be counted on the fingers of one's hand and I feel that India will have to rely entirely upon her own efforts in elucidating the problems of her national growth, and tracing the chequered period of contemporary history. Administration in India has become so complex and complicated that it leaves a person in government service little or no time for the pursuit of literature or of history ; and the difficulty has been greatly increased by the increasing tendency towards specialisation. In the History Department of the Allahabad University researches are being carried on in the Tughluq and Moghul periods, while Prof. Habib has worthily maintained the traditions of Aligarh by sustained research in pre-Moghul history. I am not aware of any other University where investigation into this subject is keenly pursued. The Universities of Southern India are wisely confining their activities to periods in which they are specially interested. This, together with the work in the Moslem period published by some learned societies such as the Asiatic Society, is the sum total of our efforts. This is a record of which Indian scholars cannot be very proud. It shows, not actual progress, but definite retrogression, and if this state of affairs continues we shall be in danger of losing what we have acquired after patient effort and ceaseless toil. The Arab conquest of Sind ought to have attracted the attention of a large number of inquirers, as it represents a striking and novel problem to

students of the Caliphate, as well as to the scholars of Indian history. Yet the modern works were all published in the nineteenth century and we have the usual authorities starting from Ibn Khurdadb whose *Kitābul Masālik wal Mamālik* was translated in the *Jurnal Asiatique* in 1865, and ending with Major Ravery's article on *The Mihran of Sind and Its Tributaries*, published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, in 1892. No period affords greater opportunity for the study alike of the Imperial policy of the great Caliphs and of the organization and administration of India in the 8th and 9th centuries of the Christian era. Mahmūd Ghazni has been more fortunate, for a few monographs have lately appeared, which throw considerable light on a period which had been strangely enough completely ignored by historians. Muhammad Ghori and his brilliant general, however, still await a competent historian and we have not yet pursued systematic researches into the history of earlier Slave Kings of Delhi. Balban attracts greater notice, but even his administration must be pieced together from Barni, Khusrāu, Mir Khwānd, Firishta and Nizāmuddin Ahmad. Why? Not because there is a lack of sufficient material, but because it has not been carefully organized and the work is haphazard and jejune. The Khilji dynasty has, of late, received some attention and Indian scholars have published valuable monographs on the invasion of the Deccan, and on the administration of Alāuddin Khilji. It is, however, true to say that the full story of Qutbuddin Aibek and his successors, of Jalāluddin Firuz Khilji and even of Alāuddin has yet to be written. What shall we say of the Sayyid and Lodi dynasties? It is practically a blank. It is true that the material for this period is scanty, but the Sayyids, who organised some remarkable and distinctive institutions, have not yet found capable historians. The Lodi dynasty also goes unrecorded, and there is no clear and complete account of this dynasty. Sher Shah struck the imagination of his contemporaries, and we have a few competent articles and monographs on this remarkable man. It may be said of the period as a whole, that scholars have devoted comparatively little attention to the Slave and Lodi dynasties, partly because the material is scanty, and partly owing to the conventional mediocrities who ascended and descended from their thrones, without exciting the interests or evoking

admiration of their contemporaries. Yet, there is reason to believe that it was a formative period of Indian history and witnessed the birth of literary and religious movements which had a profound effect on the country. We are on firmer ground when dealing with the Moghul Empire. Babar is a household word in Asia, and his memoirs are on the lips of every student of Moghul history. His fascinating personality has charmed generations of readers, and we have some brilliant monographs on this versatile man. Humayun does not fill the same space, but a full-length biography of Humayun is an urgent necessity. Jauhar supplies us with a wealth of information but we need a detailed and carefully documented account of this ineffective but beloved ruler. Of Akbar I need say little. He has claimed probably the largest number of competent and brilliant scholars, and the India of Akbar is as familiar to us as the India of John Company. The sayings of Akbar, the deeds of his famous marshals and the splendour of his court, are the subject of numerous works in English and the vernaculars. There is little likelihood of any fresh material being gleaned that will materially change our ideas of his character and achievements. The researches of Vincent Smith, Count Noer, Moreland and a host of Indian historians have succeeded in unravelling a tangled and complicated period in which we can legibly trace signs of new ideas and movements, the emergence of a feeling of national unity and a conception of a national Government. In Akbar's reign religion and administration are not conceived as integral and indissoluble, and a serious attempt is made to effect a partial separation. The movement needs careful study and, though a number of articles and monographs have been published, there is no satisfactory or authoritative account, in English, of the religious, artistic and literary activity of the period.

There are, however, certain gaps in our knowledge of the Moghul period which could be filled satisfactorily, if a competent band of historians is organized and systematic research undertaken. The history of Moghul institutions is yet to be written. It is no disparagement of the works of scholars who have published some very useful monographs on this subject to state that Moghul history offers rare opportunities for the

students of institutions. We have not yet been able to produce a single good book in English on procedure at the Moghul courts, while the functions of the Kotwāl, the Diwān, the Bakhshi and the Subedār have not yet been thoroughly investigated. Many of these officials were the pivots round whom the administrative machinery revolved, and a carefully documented history of some of the important Moghul offices will be of great value to students of institutions. The history of the judiciary under the Moghuls awaits a skilful researcher. Again, it is a commonplace to assert that the most characteristic and brilliant contribution of the Moghul Empire to modern India consisted in the administration of revenue. I am not here to defend or criticise the system of revenue administration inaugurated by Sher Shah and Akbar; nor is it my function as a historian to discuss the relative merits of the Zamindāri and Raiyatwāri systems. I am concerned chiefly with the fact of its introduction and the consequences that flowed irresistibly from it. It was an undertaking of great magnitude and significance, and was introduced in India after careful and elaborate preparation. The material for its study is abundant, and it has been very effectively used by many scholars. The system was greatly modified in the eighteenth century, and completely transformed by the British in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The works of Sarkar, Moreland, Ramsbotham, Smith, Firminger and others, have thrown considerable light on the subject, but it will be hazardous to state that no fresh inquiry is needed. We need a good work on the revenue and judicial administration under the Later Moghuls, when the impact of foreign invasions, the impoverishment of the people, and the general insecurity of life produced profound changes in the system. The Moghul secretariat continued to function regularly, and the canons formulated by the wise prudence and keen foresight of the early Moghuls seem to have been rigidly followed in the eighteenth century. The letters of Surman, who went to the court of Farukhsiyar to secure a *Farmān* for the Company, show that the Moghul secretariat was as vigilant and alert as ever. But the administration had become a huge soulless machine, lacking both initiative and momentum. A good work on Moghul bureaucracy is a great desideratum, and a comparative study of Moghul bureaucracy in the eighteenth century, Byzantine

bureaucracy in the eighth and ninth centuries and the French bureaucracy as elaborated and perfected under Louis XIV will repay perusal. A few works have lately been published on Indian Art, Religion and Social movements in India during the Moghul period. I am, however, bound to say that the abundant and extensive material on this subject has not yet been effectively tapped. Moghul and Rajput paintings have received considerable attention of late, and the works of Brown, Dr. Coomarswami and others cannot be commended too highly. However, a visit to any famous library, such as the Rampur Library, will show the rich field that awaits the workers. I may here refer also to the military organization of the Moghuls. On the Mansabdāri system, as well as on the Moghul army, some brilliant articles have been written. But there is no connected history of the Moghul army, while the accounts of battles and campaigns are reproduced from the exaggerated and highly coloured language of the old chroniclers. The problem of the Mansabdāri has not yet been solved, and schools of thought still exist which are not yet agreed on the essential features of this system. There is no work on the administration of Afghanistan by the Moghuls. Kabul was then, as it is now, the stormy petrel of Asia. Yet, the Moghuls maintained their grip on the turbulent inhabitants of the city for more than a century. Was it an ordinary achievement to rule Kabul, manage the trans-border tribes, which then as now despised law and order, and acknowledged no overlordship? I do not know if the Afghan archives have preserved records dealing with the Moghul period, nor am I sure if the Persian Government can point to any important documents throwing light on its relations with the Moghul Empire. Attempts should be made to get transcripts of such records, if they exist, and some of our scholars should bring out an impartial history of the Moghul Empire in Kabul, Kandahār, and its relations with foreign powers. We have many references to foreign powers, in Moghul histories, and ambassadors from some States of central Asia and Persia. But the material has not been woven together into a coherent whole, while the subject itself has not been thoroughly investigated by historians. I would appeal to young Indian scholars to study this period as it will give an insight into the principles of Moghul imperialism.

Moghul architecture has been investigated, in very competent monographs, by the Archaeological Department of the Government of India, and by Fergusson, Vincent Smith and others. He would, however, be a very bold man who would assert that no more light could be thrown on it. I need not discuss here the point raised by Father Hosten, regarding the builders of the Tajmahal at Agra, in an address to the U. P. Historical Society, which I published in the *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, in 1923; nor am I concerned with the barren and futile question whether it was the Italian-architects who built the Taj. The arguments on both sides have worn threadbare and no good purpose would be served by reviving the controversy. What is of greater importance to the students of this period is the Taj itself, the beauty of its design, and the perfection of its technique. We have not yet been able to enlist the aid of a scholar who will delve into the records and bring out an authoritative and exact account of this majestic dream in marble. The history of Shah Jahān's reign has been skilfully described by Dr. Banarsi Prasad Saxena, one of my pupils and a Lecturer in our History Department. There is a large amount of untapped material on the development of the fine arts in the reign of Shah Jahān, and I have a vision of a band of enthusiastic workers united by a common desire to probe further into the glorious development of architecture which found its perfect expression in buildings which are a source alike of wonder and of instruction to humanity. Shah Jahān's quality as a general has not been effectively brought out, while the comparatively long period of peace and prosperity which his reign enjoyed, the mild and benevolent rule of a man, distinguished alike for piety and purity of his life, and the splendour of his administration, deserved a historian equipped by training and guided by sound judgment. Dr. Saxena is carrying on this work and I hope and believe that he will bring out a supplementary volume on Shah Jahān. Aurangzeb has found a competent biographer in Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, and the historian of that period is under a debt of gratitude to him for his lifelong researches and contributions to the knowledge of that period. In covering such a long period and dealing with events which are unhappily still a subject of controversy, it was but natural that there should be a little

-difference on some points by persons who feel strongly on some aspects, of that monarch's activity. Such differences are inevitable when the issues discussed are deemed as vital and are the fibre of the spiritual life of various communities. The historian must, however, pursue his aims with creative purpose and with measured but fearless enterprise. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar's works should be supplemented by brochures on the administrative history of the monarch's reign. Sarkar has already published brilliant monographs on the subject. I hope younger scholars will complete the work initiated by him. The number of *Farmāns* issued by Aurangzib is enormous, and there are very few districts in my own Province where prominent families which trace their rise to the times of Aurangzeb, do not possess them. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar has a fine collection of manuscripts which he has gathered together with great difficulty and research. A systematic search of such documents will yield a rich harvest and I hope that the organizers of this Congress will take a hand in this work: The later Moghuls have been studied by William Irvine with a thoroughness and industry which it will be difficult to excel but the record of the degenerate successors of Akbar is not one which is likely to attract a large number of researchers. It is a sordid and dark story of palace intrigues and ruthless invasions from Afghanistan. It is not a story of development, nor does it reveal any striking example of a capable leader, able and willing to restore the fallen grandeur of a brilliant dynasty. The empire was in the throes of anarchy and ministers had arrogated to themselves functions of *de facto* rulers. It is much more instructive to watch the rise of the great Indian kingdoms that were created on its ruins.

THE SMALLER KINGDOMS

Before I go to the post-Aurangzib period of Indian History, let me draw your attention to the need for a detailed account of some of the smaller States whose contribution to the culture and art of India cannot be exaggerated. The history of the Sharqidynasty of Jaunpur has yet to be written. It was essentially a culture-State like mediaeval Brussels or Florence and the distinctive type of architecture which it developed should be dealt with by competent students. With the exception of the

brilliant account of the Sharqi architecture of Jaunpur, published by the Archaeological Department of the Government of India, in 1889, and a few cursory references in official reports, there is no adequate history of this important dynasty. The dynasties of Malwa and Gujarat have also been comparatively neglected, though their contribution to Indian culture was substantial and effective. There has been no addition to the stereotyped authorities for these States. The Arabic History of Gujarat, *Tarikh-i-Gujarāt*, published in 1908, and slight references to Firishta, Khafi Khan and Nizāmuddin Ahmad's *Tabaqāt-i-Akbāri* complete the customary list of authorities. The modern works are still represented now, as they were nearly thirty years ago, by Lane-Poole and Thomas and a few extracts from Danvers. Kashmir is in practically the same condition, though the translation of the *Rājatarangini* by Stein, in 1900, greatly helped Indian scholars. It is only lately that a few more documents have been published on the subject, but it is safe to say that we are still dependent on the old works published about thirty years ago. A few articles in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July and October 1918, added slightly to our knowledge. But they do not materially add to the information contained in *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. The mediaeval kingdoms of Bengal are in practically the same condition. No modern work of striking originality has appeared and we must have recourse to the commonplace and stereotyped works of Baroi, Shams i Siraj Afif, Minhājuddin, and Ghulam Husain Salim. Why? Not because there is a lack of interest among Bengali scholars. Bengal has led the way in every movement and the apathy displayed by scholars of that province, in the mediaeval history of that province, is all the more significant when we compare the brilliant work done by them in other periods of Indian history. The Bahmani Empire and its off-shoots have also been neglected. With the exception of Sir Wolseley Haig and King, there are no modern writers who have dealt adequately with the subject. Some of these kingdoms were great patrons of art and literature and their generous support and encouragement ought to find worthy mention by a competent historian. A full length history of these kingdoms has yet to be written. There are brilliant monographs by Burgess, Fergusson, Cousens, and Theodore Hope on the architecture.

of Bijāpūr, Cambay, Ahmedābād, Broach, and Junāgadh, but no-exhaustive study of some of the most important States has yet been prepared. They played the same part in the artistic development of India, as the Italian cities of the fourteenth and fifteenth century played in the development of the Renaissance. The movement seems to have been general and the efforts were not confined to one city or a State. I am not competent to speak of the gaps in our knowledge of the Hindu States in Southern India. But I may be permitted to say that the happiest sign of intellectual development in India is the growth of interest among some of the ablest and most brilliant scholars in the history of their provinces. The foundation of the Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal of Poona, twentyfive years ago, gave a remarkable impetus to such investigations and the work it has already accomplished is of the highest value to all students of Indian History. I am not exaggerating when I say that our original conceptions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have been profoundly altered by the work of the Mandal. It has created a band of historians who have already established sound and healthy traditions, and I have no doubt that in years to come it will be able to claim with satisfaction the completion of its work on the high level which it has maintained from its beginning. The History of the Vijayanagar Empire has been treated by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayanger with great ability and skill, while Father Heras and his pupils are carrying on the work into many a nook and corner of Southern India. I will not deal here with the States of Rājputāna, nor am I competent to discuss the materials in the vernacular languages of India which lie scattered throughout Northern India. The amount of such material is fairly large, but no attempt has been made in an organized form to weave it into a coherent whole, and construct a scientific history of Rajput States out of authorities sifted and dissected by trained historians. We are still referred to Tod, Smith, and the well-known modern writers, while the Persian histories, which are dubbed as original sources, can be counted on the fingers of one's hand. Something is being done at Ajmer and a history of Rājputāna in Hindi has appeared. Much more however needs to be done. Rājputāna ought to allow free access to its valuable records. Tod may have been

sufficient and adequate about fifty years ago, but modern research imperatively demands scientific works based on a dispassionate study of documents that have been carefully sifted and arranged. Romance and imagination must yield to hard facts. A new history of Rājputāna is an imperative necessity. It must be purged of the dross of romanticism and sentimentalism and deal strictly and objectively with the history of institutions and administration within the Moghul and pre-Moghul period. The causes of the decay of the Rajput States in the 18th century, the lack of any driving power and energy, their submission to foreign invaders who swooped down on their garden cities like locusts and subdued them without difficulty,—these extraordinary phenomena still await a keen historian. Histories of many of these States exist, but there are few existing works against which a charge of exaggeration cannot be brought. Will the Rajput States wake up and co-operate in the inauguration of a joint board including within its range skilful and trained workers, not courtiers, who will be allowed and encouraged to write an impartial and objective account of the periods of their glory and decline?

Ladies and Gentlemen, the gaps in our knowledge are so great that it is only by combined efforts of a large number of trained historians that they can be filled. I will discuss in the later part of my address my constructive proposals for removing this serious blemish in our scholarship, a blemish which is all the more glaring in contrast with the great strides we have made in other branches of knowledge. For the present I need only stress the paramount importance of a sustained campaign for harnessing the energy and enthusiasm of the country to the task of scientific research on these problems.

RESEARCH WORK IN THE BRITISH PERIOD

The period of British Indian history covering the last three centuries is in marked contrast with that traversed so far. While the records of some of the most important dynasties can be gleaned only with great difficulty from the pompous and grandiloquent accounts given in a language of extreme and

at times irritating, exaggeration and flattery, the British Indian period confronts the student with a mass of voluminous and prolific material, which it would be difficult to parallel in other countries. The reason for it is to be found in the fact that the Directors of the Company being six thousand miles away from the scene of operation were most suspicious of any departure from the minute and vexatious restrictions which they imposed on their factors. In the east the Government of the factories, and later on of India, was conducted by correspondence which multiplied with alarming rapidity and consumed the energy of some of the finest administrators. Very important consultations were methodically despatched to their masters in the West; the minutes of the meetings were most carefully preserved, and the minutest details of merchandise, bullion and other commercial undertakings were supplied with meticulous care, to the lynx-eyed merchants in Leadenhall Street. We have, as a result of this system, a mass of material which it is difficult for any person to master in his life-time. It is computed by Sir William Foster that the number of documents in the India Office Records Department is about 48,000. To this material should be added State papers and other documents preserved in the Public Records Office, London. Moreover, the amount of pamphlet literature and other manuscript material preserved in the British Museum is enormous. Further research in the Bodleian Library as well as in the private libraries of noblemen and others whose ancestors have played a part in the history of India will considerably add to this list. There are, moreover, voluminous documents preserved in the *Archivo da Torre do Tombo* and the *Biblioteca Nacional* at Lisbon, and the Archives at Goa. The records in the *Torre do Tombo* are described in Azvedo's work published at Lisbon in 1905. Figueiredo has given a good account in his *Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo* published at Lisbon in 1922, and Danvers also described the records in his report published in 1892. The archives of the Dutch are preserved at the *Rijksarchief* at the Hague. Again the French records, which are as voluminous as the Dutch, will be no less indispensable to students of the 18th century Indian history. Besides these sources of primary importance, there are documents of great importance in the Record Depart-

ments of Madras, Bombay, Bengal and the Punjab, while the Imperial Records Department of the Government of India is replete with a priceless collection of duplicate copies of many essential documents. The Calendar of Persian correspondence which the Department has published has been of considerable value to all students of the period.

From this brief survey it would be clear that the difficulties of the students consist, not so much in the collection of material, as in its selection. The wealth of first-rate material is very great, indeed, and the facilities provided by the great National institutions, such as the British Museum, are conducive to research, and work can be carried on in them without inconvenience and discomfort. The field of British Indian history offers a rich harvest to the students, and I hope and believe, that an ever-increasing number of Indian scholars will devote themselves to the prosecution of studies in subjects which have so far received inadequate attention. I cannot pretend to discuss the enormous mass of material indicated above, nor is it the purpose of this address to serve as a guide to records, or attempt a critical apparatus for a minute examination of sources which have been laid under contribution by various writers. May I be permitted to refer here to my *Sources for the History of XVIIth Century British India*? Let me deal, therefore, with a few of the problems in British Indian history which have not been adequately dealt with by scholars. The 17th century is a peculiarly difficult period for students of British Indian History, for a grasp of the subject necessitates a minute study, not merely of the British Factories in the East, but also of economic theories current at the time in England, as well as the details, at times tortuous and labyrinthine, of English foreign policy. Charles II's attitude towards the East India Company must be studied in connection with his negotiations with the Dutch and Louis XIV. We cannot study in isolation, nor is it possible for us to ignore the growing influence and ultimate supremacy of the parliamentary Colbertism of the Whigs, in our treatment of the policy adopted by the Revolution Parliament towards the East India Company. Again, economic theories may seem totally unconnected with the East India Trade in the 17th century, but the fact is that, either they sum-

med up the practices which were observed during the period, or they were slightly in advance of their times, and were later on incorporated as a part of their economic policy by English moneyed classes. The economic theories of Sir Josiah Child in the 17th, and of Adam Smith in the 18th century, illustrate this point completely. What are the chief problems in 17th century British India which Indian students could take up and study ? A history of the foreign policy of England, with special reference to its bearings on the East India trade, will amply repay perusal. The subject is an exceedingly difficult one, and S. R. Gardiner has already covered the ground from 1603 upto 1656. But the Public Records Office, and the Colonial Office, have collected together all the important public despatches that had any bearing on the East India Trade. Sir William Foster has given abstracts of some of them in his invaluable series of *Court Minutes of the East India Company*, but the material on the subject is so rich and varied that I hope some student of Indian history will take up this study in earnest. There is another direction in which efforts should be conducted, and that is in reference to the study of parliamentary policy towards the East India Company from 1688 onwards. Macaulay and Hunter have given fairly detailed accounts of the conflict of the two Companies after the revolution. But the inner history of the rivalry between Child and Papillon has yet to be written. I will not deal with the works of Dr. Balkrishna, Prof. Scott and others on the East India Trade, as every one knows them and appreciates the labour and industry involved in compiling these elaborate researches. The first half of the 18th century has so far remained comparatively unexplored. Wilson has tried to fill the gap, but the lack of a really sound book on the administration of the Company in Madras and Bombay should no longer be felt. The period was undoubtedly one of confusion and anxiety outside, and of peaceful and quiet developments inside the Company's territory. Yet Surman's embassy throws considerable light on the methods of Moghul Government and gives a pan-picture of the country from Calcutta to Delhi, which is most vivid and interesting. A civic history of Madras could be constructed out of the records of municipal Governments, while the peaceful progress of Bombay should find a worthy successor to Low, Wheeler, and Malabari. We

are on firm ground when dealing with the struggle with the French and the rise of Clive. I do not wish to discuss the relative merits or demerits of various works on the Anglo-French Wars in the South, as well as the voluminous material on the life and achievements of Clive. We are not surprised to find writers eulogising everything initiated by or connected with the achievements of the early Governors-General of Bengal. As historians, we must keep the scales even, and avoid rhapsody and lyrical praise, on the one hand, and depreciation of the genuine merit and worth of these men on the other hand. Keeping these considerations strictly in view, we are forced irresistibly to the conclusion that the pendulum has swung to the other extreme, and we are in danger of losing correct perspective of the period 1756 to 1767. The internal history of Bengal during these years has not been adequately investigated, nor have the materials which have recently been published properly utilised. The quarrel, with Mir Kasim and the causes and effects of the dreadful Bengal famine, the lack of any effective administration during this period of violent changes, have been dealt with by many brilliant writers, but it cannot be denied that there is considerable possibility of a divergence of opinion on some of these points. Mir Kasim seems to have been more sinned against than sinning. He was not entirely blameless, and it has to be admitted that, on various occasions, he received provocations which impelled him to resort to retaliation. One of my pupils has been engaged in studying Mir Kasim's administration and the result of his researches will be published in a book form. The subject needs clarification and further study, and I hope some scholar will choose it for an able monograph. Warren Hastings is another administrator round whom controversy has revolved. We have on the one hand Edmund Burke, one of the noblest and most generous champions of India whom Great Britain has produced. He waged a relentless fight against abuses which he alleged had been perpetrated by Warren Hastings and the Company. On the other hand, a new school of Imperial historians has arisen in the land, a school which indulges in gross laudation and undiluted Jingoism when dealing with the reforms of Hastings. A number of books have been written recently, with a strong and palpable bias in Hastings's favour.

historians. Passing over Shore's administration, which was devoid of interest, we come to Wellesley. The great pro-consul is familiar to us in his stately periods, Attic eloquence, dispatches and pompous commonplaces. The recent sketch of his administration by Mr. P. E. Roberts supplies a long-felt want. Robert's judgment is sane and sound, and his writings are free from the prejudice and narrowness displayed by Imperialist historiographers. We lack, however, a full-length history of this period, in which Wellesley's relations with Oudh, the Nizam and the Karnatic, should be sketched with freshness and wealth of detail. The material on the Karnatic is voluminous, for, apart from the documents contained in the reports of the committees appointed by the Parliament in 1773 and at later periods, the Cornwallis papers at the Public Records Office, the Wellesley MSS at the British Museum, the Home Miscellaneous Series (Volumes 285 to 328) at the India Office, together with papers and writings connected with Paul Benfield, supply us with a wealth of material which has not yet been completely utilized. Wellesley's relations with Oudh and Shah Alam raise problems of sovereignty which are of great interest to students of political theory. When Shah Alam received Lord Lake in his palace, conferred upon him a *khilat* and a title, and Lake decided to show him all outward forms of sovereignty which the Emperor was accustomed to, the view of the palace was that the Company had returned to its allegiance to the Moghul Emperor, while Wellesley contended that the Emperor had passed under the protection of the British Government. This would be the commonsense view of the transaction, but the conception of sovereignty was so fluid and vague in those stormy days that it is extremely difficult to decide the power or persons in whom it resided. While the person of Shah Alam was acknowledged among the most precious spoils of victory, it was only in 1813 that the Governor-General's seal ceased to bear the phrase proclaiming the Governor-General the servant of the Emperor. The *Nazars* were no longer presented in the name of Governor-General. When Emperor Akbar II received Lord Amherst in 1827 in Delhi, the Governor-General and the Emperor entered the *Diwan-i-Khūs* at Delhi from opposite sides at the same moment; they met in front of the throne, exchanged embraces and then took their seats, the Emperor on his

throne, the Governor-General on the State chair placed on the right; no *Nazar* was offered and the Emperor presented the Governor-General with a string of pearls and diamonds. Nine months before the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny, it was decided that the Imperial rank could no longer be recognised after the death of Bahadur Shah. The problem of sovereignty has claimed a large number of brilliant writers. The issues raised by it go to the very root of our life as organized in government. Indian students might well deal with this aspect of a fascinating problem and trace the effects of the impact of the British power on the old dynasties in Rājputāna, as well as the newly formed kingdoms that arose on the ruins of the old. I must now turn aside from a subject which will take me far afield and deal with other gaps that exist in our knowledge. Hasting's dealings with Indian States have received some attention of late and Dr. Mohan Sinha Mehta's work marks an interesting departure. It is to be hoped that Indian scholars will follow up these researches by undertaking work on the Pindari War, as well as by a comprehensive work on Hasting's Wars. Hasting's diary is often quoted, but the material in the Imperial Records Office, Calcutta, the *Home Miscellaneous Series* at the India Office and the Bombay Secretariat, is fairly large and will repay perusal. Mr. N. C. Kelkar, the doyen of Mahratta publicists, wrote his brilliant work, *Marāthē Āṇi Ingraj*, in Marathi, while Mr. Pārasnis's work on Satara contained, as usual, results of laborious research. The works of Kaye, Fraser, Keene, Munro, Malcolm and Valentia are well-known. There is however no comprehensive work in English incorporating all the relevant materials in the Peshwa's Daftār and the Records Offices mentioned above. The subject should be treated with both great care and delicacy, as it is likely to arouse controversy owing to the strong and powerful interests which were affected by Hasting's policy and the comparatively recent occurrence of these Wars. A historian who has to deal with contemporary events is exposed to dangers of a peculiar kind. He has to guard against current prejudice and passion and deal with events in which his own ancestors may have been engaged, with complete impartiality. This is specially the case with events that have led to the subversion of National states, or conquests of kingdoms in which are centred the

hopes and aspirations of an oppressed minority which has emerged victorious from a heroic war of independence. In such cases I should say the dangers to our craft in the handling of a controversial subject are so great and real, that unless we are constantly on our guard, we are likely to lower the status and permanently depress the standards of historians. This remark applies both to Indian and English historians of India. There is no authoritative work on the administration of Lord William Bentinck. This is surprising, as Bentinck's regime formed a landmark in our history, and the material on the subject is fairly extensive. From 1818 onwards the principal sources of information concerning Indian States, the proceedings of the Government of India, are no longer available, but Parliamentary papers make up for the paucity of our material. They are a store-house of most valuable information. Parliamentary papers dealing with Indian States, published in 1831, 1833, 1849, 1850 and at later dates contain a volume of priceless material. Bentinck's reforms have not yet found a competent narrator, while the economies effected by him in his administration, the methods adopted for the suppression of Thuggee, and his relations with Indian States need to be carefully studied by students. On Thuggee there is a fairly large collection, part of which is preserved in the Imperial Records Department. I will deal only cursorily with the rest of the period. The works on the First Afghan War are tainted by controversy; the amount of controversial literature is fairly extensive, but an intelligible and impartial history has not yet been written. Curzon's strictures on Ellenborough in his *British Government of India*, were perhaps responsible for Sir Algernon Law's volume dealing with Ellenborough's Indian Administration. The history of the Sikh army has been scientifically studied by Mr. Sitaram Kohli, while the publication of selections from the records of the Sikh government have gone some way toward removing a hiatus in our knowledge of the period. Sikh Wars produced a mass of controversial literature, but the brilliant contribution of Sir John Fortesque, in Volume 13, of the *History of the British Army*, is of special interest to us. It is an impartial account of an extraordinarily complicated transaction which historians have found it extremely difficult to deal with. We have not yet decided whether Chillianwalla was

a victory or a defeat for the Company. The Sikh administration remains, however, a mystery to us, and no competent historian has arisen who has been able to prepare a comprehensive history of Sikh rule. 'Abdul Latif's *History of the Punjab* has not yet been superseded, and Cunningham still serves as a text-book. Why? Not because the material is lacking, nor because opportunities for research are few, but because sufficient interest has not yet been created in the Punjab. Nor has a tradition of historical scholarship been established there on the same scale as in this virile and strenuous city. Though the north of India has made a great advance in recent years, we have not yet succeeded in organizing a School of History that will serve as an inspiration to brilliant and enthusiastic scholars. Dalhousie's masterful personality and vigorous policy are still involved in controversy, and a furious battle has raged in India since his fateful departure from our shore in 1856. We have to rely on the uncritical and laudatory account of Dalhousie by Sir William Lee-Warner who seems to find the facts of Dalhousie's policy a convenient opportunity for the application of his curious theory of Indian States. Arnold's work on Dalhousie's administration, published in 1862, is still the best work. This is a most unsatisfactory state of affairs and shows a lack of interest on the part of students in a subject which is of vital importance to scholars of contemporary India.

THE MUTINY PERIOD AND AFTER

We have a large amount of material on the Indian Mutiny: and soldiers have published a large number of memoirs, recollections, and pamphlet material, but a life of Tāntyā Topi, and of the turbulent Maulvie of Fyzābād, are still to be written. The Rani of Jhansi, probably the ablest leader produced by the rebels, has received some notice of late, but the social and other causes of the Mutiny, which Sir John Kaye attempted to discuss in the first volume of his history of the Sepoy War, have yet to be carefully and objectively analysed. In dealing with such a controversial subject, great caution is necessary, particularly at a time when political India has reached the adolescent period and every class and community in India has become politically self-conscious. The post-Mutiny period is too recent, and too

much involved in controversies which are still going on, to be capable of dispassionate and balanced treatment. Important documents are not yet accessible; the minutes of the Governor-General's councils must remain hermetically sealed till after a century, while the secrets of the India Office records must be closely preserved and jealously guarded for some time. The passionate intensity of perfervid enthusiasts is tempered and subdued by time and healed by the softening influence of toleration. For the present, we must be content with tentative and provisional conclusions on problems which are still the subject of controversy, deduced from a mass of conflicting material ranging from state documents, penned in a spirit of partisanship, to recent movements attracting to themselves the classes no less than the masses of the country. There is, however, great scope for the study of institutions and constitutions in India. The relation of the Central Government to Provincial Governments may well be attempted by some students, as the material is fairly extensive and the subject is of exceptional interest to India at the present time. The history of our religious and political organizations is still to be written, and no better service could be done to India than the orderly presentation of a subject in which India as a whole is deeply and vitally interested. The modern social movements which have completely changed the outlook, and materially helped the status of our country in the comity of nations, are merely an expression of the pent-up energy and reservoir of strength which India has invariably put forth at all critical times in her history; and at no time is the need for such studies greater. We are on the eve of momentous changes in our National life, and if we are to prepare ourselves for the task in earnest, it behoves us to study the annals of our country in the spirit of students, taking stock of our intellectual resources and giving deep thought to problems which have claimed the active attention of our predecessors. Our researches must be conducted in an atmosphere of research, and not with a view to proving a pet formula, or exploiting it for a political purpose. Viewed from this point of view, the study of Indian constitutional development is worthy of serious study, and I hope that some of you will undertake the task. The theory of Moghul sovereignty has been carefully studied by Dr. Ram Prasad Tripathi of the History Department, Allahabad

University, while the essential features of Khilji Imperialism have been investigated by Dr. Ishwari Prasad, also of the History Department, and will be published shortly. Works on other periods of Indian constitutional history are unfortunately very rare, but a large and unexplored field awaits the writer who will trace the relation of the Provincial to the Central Government. Again, the determination of the policy adopted by various provincial Governments towards self-governing bodies within their jurisdiction should be undertaken by competent investigators, while the work of the Bramho Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Servants of India Society, etc., still awaits historians of the requisite training and breadth of view. The work should not be undertaken from a sectional point of view, but should be studied in its bearings on the spiritual growth and the intellectual progress of the people of India as a whole. History is a great purifier of our emotions and a source of perpetual inspiration to the élite of a country no less than to the masses. Constitutional history has been sketched by a number of writers who have either dealt with it mechanically and without the least regard to the way in which each constitutional scheme has actually worked or they have distorted the plain and unimpeachable facts of mechanism of government to prove their own peculiar views and justify their political prepossessions. We need competent and comprehensive histories dealing with the evolution of the present constitution, not in a spirit of gross adulation or blind partisanship, but in a spirit of steadfast, honest inquiry, conducted not with a view to any personal or political aims, but solely with the object of objective and scientific study. The material is fairly extensive, and a person who wishes to study the evolution of the modern Constitution has sufficient to occupy him for several years. I hope some student will undertake this task and give us a balanced and dispassionate record of the political structure of Modern India in a scientific and objective spirit.

NEED FOR IMPARTIAL INVESTIGATORS

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have now concluded my survey of the main problems which students of Indian history are called upon to solve. I do not deprecate in the least the

noble services which generations of 'scholars' have performed for Indian scholarship, nor do I minimise the great progress which Indian scholars have recently made in the investigation of our history. All that I would like to point out is that the ground we have to cover is fairly extensive, and our task needs the help of a large number of historians, trained in methods that have won recognition in many of the advanced countries of Europe. National prejudices, racial antipathies, and religious differences, will naturally colour our judgment and unconsciously determine our attitude to specific problems. It would be too much to expect from human nature a cold passionless narration of events which have permanently dislocated the entire machinery of our national economy, nor is it in consonance with the plainest and most rudimentary elements of commonsense to expect an objective presentation of a war which has meant the subjugation of a race or country in which we are interested and of which all of us are legitimately proud. The histories of Ireland written by Irish Catholics are in marked contrast with the prejudiced and garbled versions of English historians and the Polish historians of their national kingdom adopt an entirely different method from that of the Prussian historians of the Partition Treaties of Poland. President Masaryk mentions, in his *Making of a State*, the inspiration he received from the work of the national historian of the Bohemian people, while the history of Greece under Turkish rule deals with the periods of their subjection in a manner which is diametrically opposed to that of then Turkish overlords. These are no doubt aberrations from the norm, and mark a considerable and lamentable decline from the position which history ought always to occupy. But they are an expression of a tendency which, unfortunately, cannot be completely eradicated, though it can be controlled within rational limits.

We must take human nature as we find it, and allowance must be made for differences in the race and religion of historians. We ought not to try to set up a standard which would be impossible to keep. We can no more expect the Mahratta to give cordial support to the religious policy of Aurangzéb, than we can expect Muslims to praise the policy and achievements of Bahádúr. The histories of the

late war, written recently in Germany, England, Soviet Russia and France, are an eloquent testimony to the truth of this statement, and no other material need be added in substantiation of this hypothesis. National antipathies and rivalries have unfortunately acquired greater force among the "nation states" of the present time, than they did in the palmy days of the Holy Roman Empire, or even in the 17th and 18th centuries, and modern 'nation states', particularly of the West, require their own histories and have launched a campaign for purging "false", "mischievous" or "blurred" history. The histories published in the Soviet regime should be contrasted with the ponderous folios of the earnest, though dull, German professors, published during the Hitler regime. Few American writers have been attracted by the cycle of bloodshed and revolution through which some South American States seem to pass with the pitiless monotony of a Pneumatic drill, yet the "cooked and faked" works which are palmed off as histories of these South American States are as plentiful as blackberries in September. Should Indian historians follow the model of "nationalist writers", whose avowed aim is to give a thoroughly distorted picture of their nation and glorify some of the worst acts perpetrated by their barbarous ancestors? Most certainly not. It would be disastrous to the growth of a science which has a most brilliant future before it, if its progress is clogged by such excrescences, and the resources—and they are neither mean nor insignificant—are frittered away in the vain task of showing the superiority of one Indian community over another. History knows no barriers of race or religion and Indian historians should imbibe the spirit that inspired the works of some of the most brilliant German historians of the 19th century. Their massiveness, the breadth of their judgment, the clarity of their style and method, made them the pioneers of their science, and they are still a source of instruction and inspiration to numerous students. This does not of course mean that Indian students must purge themselves completely of their national prejudices. If such a thing had been possible I would not have hesitated to recommend it. But as it is impossible, all that I would beg them to do is to control such feelings, not to give expression to them in their writings, and avoid appeals to racial or national prejudices.

I have offered these remarks with the greatest diffidence and in a spirit of humility, as I feel that it may be regarded as the height of presumption on my part to try to advise such an august and honourable body, containing the cream of the intelligentsia who are the genuine representatives of our intellectual aristocracy. I hope you will take the advice in the spirit in which it is tendered. I dread the prospect of a long line of histories of India written by Muslims, Mahrattas, Sikhs, Bengalis and Pathans, each from his own point of view, denouncing things, measures and governments with which such writers are in disagreement, in a language of license, with the rancour and vigour of professional scribblers. Such a contingency has not yet arisen. I pray and hope that it will never arise, for if once the flood-gates of sectional histories are let loose, it would be quite impossible to dam them. The danger must be guarded against with all the strength at our command, in order that our national histories may be free from the incubus of fanaticism.

PUBLICATION OF MANUSCRIPT MATERIAL
A VITAL NECESSITY.

Ladies and Gentlemen, you will allow me to deal with a few suggestions which I venture to place before you. I do so with great diffidence, as none is more conscious of his limitations than myself, and I am not quite sure if it would be possible or practicable for this honourable body to give effect to them. Yet, I am hopeful that the science to which all of us have devoted considerable attention and care may be placed upon a firm and secure basis. I referred, in the beginning, to the need for the printing of the manuscripts that deal with various periods of Indian history. The number of such MSS is fairly large, and an organized attempt should be made for their printing. It has been calculated, by Khān Bahādur Zafar Hasan, that only 53 histories of India in Persian have been published so far. The number of unpublished MSS is not less than 250. Besides the work contained in Mr. Hasan's report, there are a large number of unpublished works in Persian, in private libraries, which have not yet been catalogued or classified. We ought to make a beginning with the printing and publication of some well-known books, such as *Wāṣīyā-i-*

Nizām-ul-mulk, the complete prose works of Amir Khusrau, the *Futūhāt-i-Firoz Shāhi*, the *Tarikhī Mubārak Shāh* (which is being published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*), the *Dastūrul 'Amal* of Raja Rup, the *Fā'iyyāzul Quū'ānīn*, *Ināyat Nāmah*, *Tarikh-i-Rashīdi*. The publication of such works is a *sine qua non* of success. We should follow them up by publishing other histories in Persian. Mediaeval history depends, and must depend to a large extent, upon such histories, as far as Northern India is concerned, for it is only recently that a systematic search has begun for sources in the vernacular languages. The latter should also be taken in hand, and publication of works in Marāthi, Assamese and the different dialects of Rājputāna, can no longer be delayed. The Asiatic Society of Bengal deserves the thanks of all scholars for the encouragement it has given to publication of standard works in history, and I hope other organizations in Northern India will supplement the work of that Society. There is a very large number of *Farmāns* granted by Moghul Emperors, and a systematic effort ought to be made for their collection. They are of the utmost value to the historian of Indis, as we can reconstruct from them the actual day-to-day working of the machinery of Government. There are numerous families in Northern India, and even in the South, whose ancestors played a part in the Moghul Empire, who possess some of the most priceless relics of our history, and an effort ought to be made to get transcripts of such documents. The difficulties in some cases are obvious, as the owners sometimes are suspicious of the motives of persons who wish to consult such documents. These prejudices can be overcome, and have been overcome, by tact and prudence, and I have no doubt that in most cases the owners will be only too willing to get copies of such *Farmāns* translated.

NEED FOR A *Manuscripts Commission*

I am of the opinion that a work of such magnitude cannot be undertaken by private persons, or even by organizations with limited influence and resources. It will involve a large expenditure and necessitate the employment of several trained workers, who are familiar with the calligraphy of different periods and have had training in the handling of documents. Such men are few and far between. This

need not prove an insuperable obstacle, as the services of a number of scholars, who are now engaged in historical researches could be requisitioned, and I have no doubt that they will respond to such an appeal with alacrity and zeal. There are, however, other difficulties of a serious character, which it would be impossible to ignore. Funds are necessary, and few persons are able and willing to part with their hard-earned silver in these times of depression. Again, a work of this kind must necessarily be of an All India character, and should be effectively organised from a central place. A large amount of popular propaganda must be undertaken, to convince the people of the need of such work and persuade them to allow these documents being taken. There will undoubtedly be suspicions, in some quarters, of the motives and intentions of investigators who must transcribe some important documents, and obstacles may be placed by suspicious owners who may fear disclosure of their family secrets. May I appeal to the historical societies to organize a joint board for the purpose? Many of these bodies have done brilliant work for the advancement of learning. There are some whose name is a household word in the realm of scholarship. Could they not come together, discuss the details of a central organization, and organize a body that will become the focus of historical research throughout? Is it too much to expect that institutions which have built up our history, through more than a century of sustained efforts, should be willing to maintain the high tradition of selfless and unostentatious research which have inspired a host of workers in the same field? A joint body, containing representatives of leading historical associations, could start work almost immediately, and infuse a new spirit, not only into the teaching of history, but also into the researches carried on nowadays by scholars who are severely handicapped by the paucity of their material? If private organizations cannot help, we must go to the Central Government and request it to take up the schemes after consulting various bodies concerned. Such work has been undertaken by Government in England. In Germany, France and other countries, institutions which deal with the sources of national history are materially helped by the Government. I advocated the establishment of a Historical Manuscripts Commission at a meeting of the Indian

Historical Records Commission in 1923. In a paper read before that body, I pointed out the need for such a Commission and stressed its importance to students of historical research. The lapse of time has tended to strengthen that demand. I feel now, as I felt then, that a Historical MSS Commission is a vital necessity, and our progress in historical studies depends to a large extent upon an institution of that kind. I have nothing to add to what I said then. The experience of the serious handicaps which confront almost every student of mediæval and Moghul history has completely verified the accuracy of that statement. I am of the opinion that the Government of India should give the country a lead in this matter by organizing a small body of highly trained men for this work. The Government has given remarkable impetus to research in ancient Indian History, and the Archaeological Department deserves the thanks of all Indian scholars for what it has accomplished. But the feeling is general it has not encouraged researches in modern Indian history to the same extent and with the same generosity. With the exception of a few monographs on the architecture of mediæval India, and the publication of a few State papers, nothing substantial has been done that corresponds to the efforts put forth in the study of ancient Indian history. I am not saying this in disparagement of their work, nor do I advocate curtailment of the excellent work accomplished by the Archaeological Department. All that I claim is that the time has arrived when the Government of India should make a special grant every year for fostering and organizing research in modern Indian history on a substantial scale. I feel that a beginning should be made by starting the nucleus of a Historical MSS Commission. Such a commission has been of the utmost value to historians in England, and there are few works on Indian and English history published recently which have not utilised manuscripts preserved in the private libraries of England. We should profit by the experience of that country and enlist the aid of Indian States and provincial Governments. A tremendous drive is essential, and I am confident that it will not be lacking. What should be the function of such a commission? On the one hand, it will undertake the publication *précis* of MSS in public libraries. The amount of material on the subject is fairly

extensive, and a great deal remains to be done. It should secure copies of such works, and should get them edited by competent scholars. As one who has had opportunities of visiting the libraries and archives of Rampur, Udaipur, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Indore and Hyderabad States, besides the Khudābāx library of Patna and the collections at Aligarh, I can say without the least hesitation that our knowledge of some of the most important and significant periods of Indian history will be substantially modified if the works preserved in these institutions are made accessible to scholars. Its second important work would consist in the publication of MSS in the possession of private families which possess historical value. Not every MS is worth copying and those documents will be selected which are of general interest to the historians. As the amount of such material is fairly extensive, only precis of important documents could be published. Historians are so well acquainted with the volumes published by the Historical Records Commission in England that I think it is unnecessary to discuss them here.

The Government of the East India Company was in many respects a Government by correspondence, wherein the authorities of the East India Company at Leadenhall insisted on the most minute and detailed account of transactions from their servants in the East. We have, as a result, a magnificent store of records in India and England, containing some of the finest collections of State papers in the world. In no other country are materials regarding the sources of British Indian History so extensive and complete. The work done by Sir William Foster in the Record Department of the India Office cannot be too highly praised, and a generation of Indian scholars trained in England testifies to his enormous industry, unfailing courtesy, and constant help. It is due, to a large extent, to his efforts that the India Office Library has become the laboratory of Indian historians. I wish to place on record the great help and assistance which Sir William has rendered to Indian scholars in England, and I have no hesitation in saying that, but for his advice, much of the work recently published on British Indian history would have remained jejune, fragmentary and unsubstantial. The Record Offices in Madras and Bombay have been well organized and considerable improvements have taken

place in recent years. I would recommend the publication of calendars of important documents by these Governments. Both Madras and Bombay Governments have published very useful lists, while in some cases documents have also been published. I suggest that, as far as possible, abstracts of all important documents should be published, in order that the historian may be able to tell at a glance whether a particular document deserves fuller study. The calendars of State Papers in England have revolutionised our conception of English History, and have thrown a flood of light on many important problems. In almost every chapter of Gardiner's monumental History of England (1603-56), and other works on English history which have been published recently the indebtedness of the authors to the calendars is manifest. Other examples could be quoted. I suggest that a calendar of important documents should be published by these Governments for the convenience of the historical investigators. The Punjab Government have published an excellent series of selections from its records and their example might well be followed by other local Governments. The amount of material preserved in the Imperial Records Department is extensive, and the Department has published an excellent series known as 'The Calendar of Persian Correspondence.' But the material presented there is so great that one or two other series dealing with Wellesley and Lord Hastings could have been published. In my province, there is a very large amount of material in the Board of Revenue on the early revenue history of the United Provinces and a few of my students have worked on them. But the absence of a Record Department in the United Provinces has considerably hindered the progress of studies in history. I made a proposal, at a meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission, in 1922, that a Record Department should be established in the United Provinces. That proposal was accepted by the Commission, but the U. P. Government has not been able to give effect to their recommendation. Let us hope that a Records Department will be established in my province in the immediate future and historical studies will be pursued with industry and enthusiasm which the Hindustanies have invariably shown. It is the meeting place of

Hindu and Muslim cultures, and has always occupied, and will, I hope continue to occupy a preeminent place in the sphere of scholarship.

THE PESHWA'S DAFTAR

I am afraid it is difficult for me to give an opinion on the Peshwa's Daftari at Poona, but as the matter came up once or twice before meetings of Indian Historical Records Commission, you will permit me to say a few words. The Daftari has proved a boon to historical scholars throughout India. The growth of interest in the study of Indian History, which is such a happy sign of the national awakening, in India is due to a very large extent to the inspiration which Indian patriots have received from the heroic deeds of our ancestors. It would be presumptuous on my part to offer you advice as to the way in which it ought to be managed. There are persons present here who are immeasurably superior to me in the knowledge of this national reservoir of our past; but, as a question was put to me recently by a prominent scholar, I deem it my duty to refer to it. As a general rule, national collections of the kind presented in the Daftari ought to be thrown open to all students of history, and every facility should be given to researchers in their work. No restrictions should be imposed on the use of documents; provided they are not utilised for raising questions of title, or other administrative issues of a similar kind. They are of general interest to the public and the historian. Subject to this proviso, there ought to be no difficulty in having access to all the papers in the Peshwa's Daftari, to such persons as are anxious to study them. I may refer here to the need of experts in the Records Offices in India, including the Peshwa's Daftari.

NEED FOR EXPERT ARCHIVISTS IN INDIA

The work on manuscript records necessitates long and laborious training under skilful and efficient guidance. The number of experts in India trained in the methods and brought up in an atmosphere of historical research, is very limited, and no attention seems to have been paid to their systematic training. The Imperial Records Department has undertaken this work successfully, but this is an age of specialisation and rationalisation

and we still lack men with intensive training in methods which have made the English Public Records Office a model for such institutions. The Universities ought to utilise the services of such experts in their Departments of History, as is done in London, and engage them to give courses of lectures to advanced students on the sources of Modern Indian History. One of my teachers, Dr. Hubert Hall, Assistant Keeper of Records in the Public Records Office, London, was also Reader in Palaeography in the University of London, and his inspiring and stimulating lectures lifted the subject to a high plane of strenuous and bracing intellectual exercise, vigorous alike to the teacher and the student. It was an intellectual partnership, in which the student took as active a part as the teacher, and often resulted in a brilliant and luminous monograph. Is it not possible for Indian Universities to utilise the services of Joint Labour Keepers of Records in their provinces and include study of materials as one of the subjects in their syllabuses? Professor Dodwell lectured to students of the Madras University while he was Keeper of Records in Madras. I do not know any other Keeper of Records in India who lectures in Universities, though in England, Germany and other countries Record Offices serve as the corner stone of historical studies.

NEED FOR A REVISED EDITION OF ELLIOT'S HISTORY

In passing, let me refer to the need for a revised edition of Elliot and Dowson's *History of India as told by its own Historians*. This is a work of great value and research, and generations of historical scholars have profited by the labours of these distinguished savants. Sir Henry Elliot devoted his brilliant energies and wide influence to the collection of manuscripts and their transcription with great industry and energy and the eight volumes of his history are a mine of most useful information to the student. There are few students of mediæval India who have not consulted this history, and no work by a modern author has done more to encourage and foster our interest in the period covered by these volumes. It was, however, inevitable that in the transcription of Persian histories, as well as in their translation into English serious errors should creep in. While the translation of some of these volumes is

satisfactory, there are others which are quite unreliable. An example of this may be found in the translation of Amir Khurasani's *Kharājul Futiḥ*. Another serious drawback is the lack of notes and criticisms of the Persian MSS utilised for this work. To students struggling with the difficulties of the Persian style current from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century A. D., the absence of footnotes and other aids to study, is keenly felt. We need a new edition of Elliot's work in which not only will the translations be completely revised, but also a number of very important works which were not included in the original work, added. Each volume should be entrusted to an expert on the period with which it deals, and there is no reason why the work should not be finished in a comparatively short time. It can be organized only on a basis of co-operative enterprise, and should be free from the idiosyncrasies and personal prejudices of the writers. A general editor should aim at uniformity of method and principles, within the limits prescribed by the nature of the task. A joint undertaking of this kind, produced under the auspices of this august and honorable body, will shed lustre on the achievements of Indian scholarship and show to the Republic of Letters that we have now scholars whose attainments are hardly inferior to those of other countries. I have felt the need of a new edition of Elliot and Dowson for a number of years, and have discussed this question with several scholars during the last five years. I hope the Modern History Congress will give a lead in this matter and organize a strong and influential body to give effect to this suggestion.

UNIVERSITIES AND HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have been dealing so far with the organization of research by various learned bodies and by the Government of India, but I have left out one of the most important agencies for the purpose. The omission was deliberate, as I wished to deal with this subject at somewhat greater length. The Universities are the repositories of learning and culture, and it is in and through them that research and investigation can be fostered and encouraged. Research is, or ought to be, one of their most important functions, and

the encouragement and organization of research should be one of the important tests of their utility and success. There are few persons who dissent from this statement. Have the present Universities succeeded in organizing and stimulating research on a scale which would justify our regarding them as nurseries of learning and culture? Have they given evidence of the creative energy and brilliant leadership which even a third-rate German University has frequently shown? What progress has actually taken place in the adaptation of our Universities to the complex problems with which India will be faced in the immediate future? To what extent, if any, have the numerous problems of history referred to in this address been solved by them? These are some of the questions which an impartial inquirer is bound to put in dealing with research. I am afraid it will be difficult for me to reply to these questions, as this is not a forum for the discussion of such problems, and the issues raised therein are too wide to be dealt with in this Congress. I shall therefore confine myself to research in history, and deal with the problem from the point of view solely of research. Until within a comparatively short time, Indian Universities completely neglected Indian history, and there are thousands of students whose knowledge of the history of their own country is extremely meagre. It may be said of a large proportion of such students that they know the history of every country except their own. This state of affairs lasted for a considerable period, and these half-baked and immature products of ill-equipped and insufficiently staffed bodies, with the honorific names of Universities, did nothing to remove the evil. It is only recently that salutary reforms have been introduced, and Indian history has been given its own place and recognition in some Universities. There are still a number of Universities where such instruction is inadequate and unsatisfactory, and the methods of teaching are primitive and crude: cramming of dates, memorising of important events, and learning by rote, are the normal features, not of lectures or instruction in Universities, but of the students in their desperate and pitiful anxiety to pass the examination. This is due, in my humble opinion, to faulty methods of teaching in such bodies, which are the inevitable result of inadequate preparation by the lecturers engaged in teaching the subject. History is regarded as a soft option by almost everyone.

and a lecturer who cannot teach any other subject properly, is assigned the work, and our national history has consequently received a set-back from which it will take a long time to recover. Indian Universities ought to put their houses in order and organize a joint board for the co-ordination of history teaching throughout India. The crude and primitive methods current in these bodies should be eradicated, and a uniform level should be maintained, in order that a student who wishes to pursue research in a definite line may be thoroughly equipped. Not every person should be advised to take up a study which demands special qualifications. We do not want partisans; we have no room for factious persons who start their studies with the sole desire to explain their fixed ideas. The student should have a sane judgment, an open mind, and a capacity for taking infinite pains with his work. Hunting through the index of a particular work, and piecing such references together, may be an extremely fine hobby for some individual, but we shall not be justified in regarding it as a substantial or definite contribution to original knowledge. A long and brilliant array of authorities in the footnotes of a folio page is not likely to dazzle a person who has gone through a severe course of intensive study, under most unfavourable circumstances, and window-dressing of this type is more likely to damn and discredit an author than enhance his prestige or increase his fame. A thorough training in the principles and practice of research is a *sine qua non* of success, and this can be undertaken only in seminars conducted by competent and experienced historians. The seminar system ought to be an integral part of every University subject, and post-graduate students should be grounded in the basic principles of their subject. There is reason to believe that seminars have not yet received sufficient recognition in some Universities, and the feeling is general that even post-graduate students leave the University without a rudimentary knowledge of the main authorities on their subject. I deliberately refrain from specifying such Universities, but I feel that attention should be pointedly drawn to the great need for placing history teaching on a satisfactory and sound basis. The matter ought not to be allowed to drift further, and the co-operation of Indian Universities is vital. The standards

and achievements of different Universities necessarily vary. There are institutions which have stimulated research in a manner that has won the unstinted praise of all who have had opportunities of studying their productions. There is a new atmosphere and a new spirit pervading these institutions. A number of works of a high order have lately been published, embodying researches which have been generally recognized as definite contributions to historical knowledge. On the other hand, there are institutions where research is practically unknown. Their chief function is to grant degrees, and this task—not a very difficult or a burdensome task—they have accomplished in a remarkably efficient manner. Degrees of various grades have been conferred, but research in scientific form, of the requisite standard, is conspicuously absent. It would be invidious to mention such bodies, and raise a controversy which will be as unfruitful as it must be barren. The point which is now accepted by all who have had an opportunity of studying this state of affairs for a considerable period, is that the encouragement of and incentive to research has been lost sight of in the desire—a legitimate desire within rational limits—to take a part in the politics of a University. Politics have come to occupy a place in certain institutions which would have been unthinkable about twenty years ago. The energies of teachers are dissipated in a fruitless and barren endeavour to secure seats in the highly prized bodies of these institutions. Administration is far more useful than research, and administration occupies the attention of some persons to an extent which would have been deemed impossible in the pre-Reform period. This is due no doubt to the cumbersome and complicated machinery which the Sadler Commission introduced about fifteen years ago. These remarks are not applicable to every University, nor are they intended to be condemnatory of the work of Universities as a whole. I have merely attempted to describe the general tendencies at work in certain institutions. It is clear that such a state of affairs can be reformed only gradually, by building up a healthy University tradition by raising the standard of research conducted in such institutions, and insisting on research by members of the staff.

engaged in teaching the subject. A joint board for historical research should be constituted, which should include representatives of Indian Universities and the Government of India, and a programme of historical studies mapped out. It should be spread over a number of years, and each University and learned body should be invited to join such a body. I have been obliged to discuss frankly and without reservation the condition of Universities, as I feel that we cannot allow such a state of affairs to continue for a long time. Signs are not wanting that the outburst of educational activity which was due to the Sadler Commission has spent itself out, and we have now arrived at a stage of stagnation and lassitude which have altered in many important ways the basic principles of that Commission. Research has been forgotten in the alluring pursuit of administration, and research has ceased to be the vital and essential function of these bodies. These remarks are applicable only to some Universities, and are confined to research work in history. I hope that a healthy opinion will be mobilised in these bodies, and work started on lines which have made the great Universities of the West renowned throughout the world.

THE CONGRESS A CLEARING-HOUSE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

The organizers of this Congress are to be heartily congratulated on the brilliant execution of a scheme which had been broached by some of the foremost historians, and I have no doubt whatsoever that this body, inaugurated amidst such happy auspices, with the blessings and support of historians all over the world, is destined to play a momentous part in the building up of a vigorous School of Indian Historians. We have not started this organization in a spirit of hostility to any institution. It is not our desire, nor can it be the wish of any one of its members, to start an association with the object of multiplying the long list of sectional and provincial organizations that have played, and are still playing, a brilliant rôle in the development of historical investigation. Provincial patriotism has a rightful, nay an essential, place in our national life and endeavour, for it is from the warmth and glow of the concrete events that appear every moment and unconsci-

ously mould our outlook, that we reach the sublime heights of an all-India patriotism. I cannot expect a citizen of Poona to develop a conception of Indian patriotism unless he has been bred in and shared the thoughts of those who made Poona famous. They carved a temple of fame and valour which is a source of perennial interest to thousands who undertake the pilgrimage of piety and devotion to this sacred and historic city. Similarly, I cannot conceive a Delhi citizen who is not constantly reminded of the splendour of the Moghal Rule by the daily, almost hourly, sight of monuments of Moghal glory and brilliance. A Sikh cannot become a true Indian patriot unless he has love for sacred Amritsar or historic Lahore. Provincial patriotism is the foundation of National patriotism, and our object in starting this organization is not to kill provincial bodies but to encourage and foster their development and to bring scholars closer together, so that we may be able to launch those undertakings and enterprises which have been deferred for an unconscionably long time. The Modern History Congress aims at organizing the scattered energies and divided work of a number of institutions which have hitherto worked in isolation into a coherent and effective body. It will be the clearing-house of Indian historical research and will organize researches into the various phases of Indian history on an all India basis. While carefully safeguarding the position and status of each organization and each province, it will initiate lines of policy concerning Indian research as a whole, and serve as an authoritative organ of Indian historical scholarship. In actual working, it will be a federal body with certain clearly marked and well defined spheres of action, reserved exclusively or almost exclusively for its own legitimate and normal sphere, while provincial organizations will keep up their residuary powers within the ambit to which they have hitherto restricted their efforts. This does not mean that provincial organizations will not be expected to contribute substantially to original knowledge, nor does it imply the existence of an extraordinary body, with dictatorial powers, imposing its decrees on its rebellious subjects. All that it implies is that the exchange of views among scholars, the lack of which has been severely felt by many historians, will be frequent and effective, and the experience gained by researchers in other fields will be avail-

able to all, in a way which has never been possible so far. But this is not the only function of the Congress. Its other function is to give an impetus to research on an all-India basis, in a systematic and organized form, on a permanent basis, through a strong and effective organization. Its standards will be higher than have been developed so far, either in the West or in the East, and its normal sphere of activity will be marked by the confidence and support which the world of Indian scholarship will render to it at almost every step. The All India Modern History Congress knows no politics; it will not serve the interest either of our national life and thought propagandists who paint the glories of their country's past in a flamboyant language and consider Western influence and European culture primarily responsible for the low position which their country occupies in the society of autonomous communities, nor will it support writers who, obsessed with prejudice and racial pride, have completely ignored those features of which have maintained and preserved the continuity of our cultural life, and the stability and permanence of our indigenous institutions. The power of assimilation which our country has shown during the last one thousand years would be quite inexplicable to historians who think that the passage of a law is immediately followed by its general and universal application and fail to take note of a deep gulf that separates the actual from the ideal. The Congress is not the forum for the dissemination of theories of racial supremacy or political predominance, and nothing can be or is more fatal to the healthy formation of sound opinion on the history of India than the manipulation and distortion of facts of history to serve the ends of political parties in the country. It is exclusively intended for scholars of history, and to the brotherhood of historians the controversies of the day make no appeal. Its function is that of a judge who passes judgment on the motives no less than the policy of a particular individual. These, Ladies and Gentlemen, are the functions of the All India Modern History Congress, and it is with reference to these functions that the work and value of this great organization will be assessed. It must be catholic in its sympathies and leave its doors open for subjects which have hitherto received scanty attention.

THE NEW SPIRIT OF INDIAN NATIONALISM

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have now completed the survey of the needs and requirements of Indian historians. It has, I am afraid, been dreary and wearisome to some of you, but I felt that before an expert body like the present, including as it does, representatives of Universities, learned bodies, and Indian States, this was the proper opportunity for placing before you the difficulties of our craft. To whom should I go, if not to you, for a solution of problems which have perplexed and baffled some of the most brilliant and experienced among us? There is, I admit, a real danger in the microscopic examination of a small and insignificant bit of History. There are persons who devote their lives to the patient examination of records which appeal and can appeal only to an exceedingly small number of historians. There are some pathetic cases of historians being submerged and overwhelmed by the minuteness, insignificance, and the triviality of a voluminous amount of material which they are called upon to handle day after day and month after month. The tracing of a genealogical tree of a fifth-rate ruler of a petty and insignificant State may occupy the life-time of a patient and persistent researcher, but it is not likely to give him either breadth of vision or the freshness of outlook for the completion of his work in an intelligible manner. History does not consist merely in the dissection of tiny bits of facts, out of old parchments, collected together after years of toil, without any principle or significance. This is not history, but a heterogeneous collection of unorganized facts pieced together with soulless and mechanical industry. History consists, not merely in the organization, collection and examination of material, but also in its interpretation. Without a correct interpretation of the mass of material presented to the historian, history will degenerate into a meaningless and barren recitation of a string of unrelated and unco-ordinated facts, and will cease either to inspire or instruct. Interpretation is the core of history. Indian historians owe a special duty to their country at this juncture. I do not decry specialised research; I believe in the *archive* method and have incorporated my researches in archives in more than one work. I feel strongly that the investigations must be thorough and accurate, and

I insist on every historian undergoing highly specialised training in the principles and methods of historical research. But I feel equally strongly that, no Indian historian should ignore the broad generalisations which should underlie Indian historical research as a whole. While specialisation in a particular period of Indian History is an indispensable preliminary to the success of a historical treatise, we must keep vividly before us the conception of Indian History as a whole. We must not divide ourselves into watertight compartment classes of Mahratta, Sikh, Muslim, and Bengali historians. While the subject may be concerned only with a small period of Indian History, every Indian historian should aim at a conception of united India. This is the noblest and truest legacy of fifty years of rapid progress. We are not merely Mahrattas and Muslims, we are also part of a larger whole, and it is our duty as historians to emphasise this point, and bring home to the young the spiritual energy and intellectual force which impelled many of our national heroes to work, not merely for the limited and circumscribed sphere in which they moved and breathed, but also for the general progress and improvement of our Motherland. While our historical researches must depend essentially on the nature and variety of material at our disposal, and our conclusions must be deduced logically and calmly from the material itself, they must be inspired by the new sentiments which animate India today. It is the spirit of a common Indian nationality, basing itself on the fundamental unity of the Indian people, and having its origin in the numerous forces, spiritual, intellectual and economic, which have fused various communities and classes, provinces and States, into an organic whole. The emergence of this idea from the *welter* of anarchy and confusion, which has unhappily marred our development in some centuries, is the happiest sign of the present times and I hope and believe that this conception will be incorporated in the daily pattern of our national life. While history is the record of truth, and nothing but the truth, it deals with the human organism, with its passions and prejudices, its sub-conscious impulses and lofty ideals. It is a record of human activity, and is instinct with life. We deal, not with fossils, but with the achievements of persons who have left imperishable monuments of their glory in the Indian Society of to-day. The present is linked up with the past by the

strongest forces in the world. It is the sacred duty of historians of India to attempt the interpretation of her annals in a way that is in harmony with the basic conception of her common nationality. This does not and ought not to involve importation of our modern theories into the solid mass of material concerning small and limited periods of history. All that it implies is that, the spirit in which we undertake this task must be entirely different from that which has unfortunately disfigured some writings, both Indian and English.

I hope and believe that a new era has dawned, an era in which India will rise to the height of her greatness, and will show to the world that she is fitted to occupy her rightful place in a position of complete equality with other nations of the world. A great deal depends on the way in which the youth of India is taught history, during the impressionable period of adolescence, as well as on the method and the spirit in which the historians perform their task. We can enable her to reach her full stature by infusing the spirit of Indian nationality into our writings, by avoiding sectional views and prejudices, and popularising the idea of a common nationality. This is a sacred duty, and I hope and believe that it will be performed by us with the zeal and enthusiasm which have always characterised our best and noblest efforts in the past.

THE HISTORICAL EXHIBITION

OPENING ADDRESS

BY

'Rao Bahadur Dr. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, Madras.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is hardly necessary for me to state it in terms how highly I appreciate the honour that the All-India Historical Congress have done me by asking me to open the Historical Exhibition organized as an auxiliary to the Congress. It is indeed very good of those responsible to have thought of me in this connection, when it certainly would have been easy for them to have invited others nearer home and certainly much better qualified for the task. It is indeed matter for regret that the Pant Saheb Pratinidhi of Aundh should have taken suddenly and seriously ill. As the eminent artist that he is, and one of the premier noblemen of Maharashtra, he would have filled the position much more appropriately than myself. It is however matter for gratification that his health has so far improved as to enable his being with us again soon. I could mention others far worthier than myself, but having been invited by a responsible body, I could hardly resist the temptation to be with you all and take an active part in a movement which has so much of my sympathy. I therefore request your forbearance if I should fall short of expectations in discharging the duties that fall to my share in this connection.

Poona the intellectual headquarters of Maharashtra took the lead, in the year 1919, in organizing the First All-India Oriental Conference taking advantage of the inauguration of the Oriental Institute which goes by the name of the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, under the guidance of that veteran in the field of Indian research. Bhandarkar who was to have presided over the first session of the Conference was prevented from

taking any active part in the work of the session by illness, from which he did not quite recover. The organization launched under his auspices has gone on from strength to strength however, and is about to hold its eighth session in Mysore by invitation of the Mysore University. Indian History in all its phases does certainly come within the sphere of an Oriental Conference, and ever since its beginning, the Oriental Conference has had an important section for Indian History. In its normal milieu of orientalists, the history section showed a tendency to become confined more or less to ancient history and subjects auxiliary thereto. It was felt in certain quarters that the importance of the History of India, as a basal study for all oriental research, required a separate organization, and Bombay took the lead in organizing the First Historical Congress in the December of the year 1931. The Congress was organized by the Bombay Historical Society, and there was no decision taken on the occasion of the Congress Session to make the organization permanent, although the need for giving it a permanent character was not altogether absent from the minds of those responsible for the movement. It is in the fitness of things therefore that Poona should follow up by calling together an "All-India Modern History Congress" devoted to the promotion of research in the History of India during the period which may be definitely regarded as historical—the period, the beginning of which is marked by the Muhammadan invasions. The modern period of Indian History may have several connotations, and it is well therefore that it is thus defined.

A Congress, with such an object in view, must necessarily provide for an exhibition of the material of history upon which *alone* historical research could be carried on. This historical material is composed of a large variety of objects subserving various interests. They include, according to the printed programme of the Congress, works of art, such as paintings, textiles of various kinds, jewellery, all of them preeminently works of art, and deserving of careful study as works of art. There are others, arms and weapons, handwriting of historical persons, statues, models, etc., which while they may also be regarded as art works, perhaps belong more directly to the region of history. There are others still such as numismatics, documents

including *farmans*, *sannads*, etc., and quasi-history like the *tawarikhs*, letters, *bakhairs* and even some objects of archaeology, chiefly, buildings, statuary work, ornamentation of buildings, including painting, maps and charts. It is a large variety that goes into the make up of history proper, and each one of these separate classes of material has its own important contribution to make to the understanding of the general current of history.

In regard to works of art generally, artists, such as those interested in painting, iconography and statuary, etc., or generally Architecture taking all of them into it, are sometimes impatient of these works of art being studied from the point of view of history, which they seem to regard as necessarily detrimental to the true appreciation of art. A real appreciation of art as art, if genuine, need not stand in the way of the study of works of art for purposes of history especially where history widens into cultural history in addition to the political. There is a basal difference in the view of art between the Western and Eastern points of view commonly so distinguished. This fundamental difference of character was noticed as persisting in modern Indian Art during the recent Exhibition in London by competent authority. The Eastern view of it may perhaps be described as subjective and the Western objective or realistic, both points of view liable to misuse when carried to excess. The Indian artist, taking only secular art into consideration, attempts to translate his conception of nature and natural objects into objects of art, while the Western artists may carry realism to the extreme by merely copying an object that exists literally. Sukra lays down the orthodox principle accepted by the Hindu artist in the following terms generally:—"The artist should attain to images of the Gods by means of spiritual contemplation only. The spiritual vision is the best and truest standard for him. He should depend upon it, and not at all upon the visible objects perceived by the external senses. It is always commendable for the artist to draw the images of the Gods. To make human figures is bad and even irreligious. It is far better to present the figure of a God, though it is not beautiful, than to reproduce a remarkably handsome human figure." This represents an extreme view of art as subserving the cause of religion; but in this, it follows the religious instinct of

India which lays down the norm for making images for worship; for any worshipper has to form an image of God in his own mind, and, to fix it in his recollection, or, merely to teach those who may not be capable of that mental process, to picture that conception in the form of a material image. That is so far as the objects of worship are concerned. But that the method was not altogether different in the case even of the secular artist is clear from a casual statement of the poetical author of the *Manimekhala*, who in one of the most interesting situations, describes the heroine as 'the very picture that an artist had conceived in his mind for translating it into a work of art,' thereby indicating clearly that even a secular artist who wishes merely to draw the picture of a person—holy or unholy does not really matter to the question—has to form in his own mind a complete conception—in fact a very picture of what he intends to draw—before he takes up pencil or brush. The object to be given form and expression must be therefore in his mind complete before he could proceed to work. This basal notion gives the Eastern art its special character; the lack of understanding of this has led to a considerable amount of misapprehension of its character, and the consequent want of appreciation of its worth. This happened to be the case even in respect of the *Ajanta* Paintings which are coming into their own now, having won the highest appreciation of the really artistic-minded Europeans—such great authorities of Asiatic art as Laurence Binyon and E. B. Havell. "It is true," writes Havell, "as Mr. Binyon has said, that in the great art of India the religious import was everything to the artist; they generally consecrated their lives to religion as many great European artists have done. But this does not imply that they turned away their eyes from the facts and phenomena of nature and made themselves incapable of rendering them truthfully, as Ruskin and many lesser critics have asserted. Indian artists were not ascetics who shut themselves out of the world, but mystics who communed with Nature to find the secret of the universal life." If real judgment upon these objects of art, such as the most excellent paintings, should be regarded as fit only for the appreciation of the artist, what service can these render to history?

To make use of these for purposes of history requires as a necessary preliminary, a true appreciation of the artistic worth of these objects as well as of the artistic method which has brought them into existence. When thus understood it proves of the highest value to the study of history as the production of a work of art, and the popular appreciation of it given an unmistakable idea of the condition and character of society which called for these works of art and to give them the mead of approbation when brought into existence, it may be even by chance. What is said above in regard to painting applies equally well to other works of art such as statuary work, which, at any rate in India, is essentially part of architecture, as in fact painting itself is. Appreciation of the true worth of a work of art and its correct location in the progress of history is one of the best means of evaluating the true cultural position of the periods of history in which the works of art had their vogue.

The next class of objects in our enumeration above, has undoubtedly an artistic interest; but the artistic here is subordinate really to the value of these as sources of history. Arms and weapons, the actual character of the textiles, the handwriting of persons and even jewellery work, can all of them be looked upon as works of art. At the same time, they can be made to lend themselves for various purposes of historical research. While there may be very considerable art, which sometimes happens to be lavished upon some of these, what is really more important in the matter of arms and weapons is their character for efficiently serving the purpose for which they were forged, and, as such, give us an insight into the character of the war itself by the instruments actually employed in the inevitable, and perhaps the inglorious work, of man-killing. By themselves, and in individual instances, they are mere curiosities; but when the necessary preliminary studies of collecting, classifying, etc., are over, they could be made use of for purposes of the deductive work of history. As a matter of fact, in most cases of subsidiary historical material, this process is a necessary preliminary, and the more completely the preliminary work is done, the surer becomes the ground upon which inferences and conclusions could be based upon such material. Art

works are the outward expression of the actual mind of the people, whether they be authors the product of whose minds they would be, or of the more humble but larger class who, while they may not have the capacity for a productive work, may still exhibit ready sympathy and appreciation for the work. They would prove a valuable source of knowledge to the historian as in the last resort the mental equipment of a people is in many departments of history of the highest value for the understanding of the historical institutions of a people.

Then we come to the regular material of history, the actual stock-in-trade of the historian, as distinct from accessory aids. Here perhaps the artistic side is much more subsidiary as they provide other material which is more directly subservient to the writing of history. Chief among these would be numismatics. Numismatic connoisseurs would wax eloquent over the actual fabric and the artistic workmanship of the coins which they may treasure more as works of art and objects of admiration therefor. But to the historian, the artistic character undoubtedly is something as exhibiting the mind of the makers, but what he is really after is the actual evolution in the fabric which might sometimes help him to place these coins in their proper position historically. But more often than not, the adventitious aids that these coins provide are of greater value to him by giving the date, the name of the king or other indications of a dynasty and sometimes even the names of the mints where they were struck. The very evolution of the characters would be an interesting study in epigraphy, though not perhaps to the extent that actual inscriptions would be in this particular. Inscriptions do constitute an important and valuable aid even in regard to Modern History as defined for the purposes of this Historical Congress. When they happen to be inscriptions falling within the modern period, the centre of interest in them changes. They are not studied so much for the mere paleography of these which, with respect to ancient Indian inscriptions, is much more of the essence of that study; but these happen to be studied for their value as historical material inasmuch as they happen to be documents of the highest value. More often than not, they are elaborate official documents, documents intended to be of legal validity, and issued primarily

for legal purposes. Other documents such as professed histories (*tawriks*), *farmans* which are Government documents of as much importance as some of the inscriptions referred to above, constitute the real material for the modern historian.

Having regard to the limitations imposed upon the All-India Modern History Congress by its organisers, perhaps the last class of documents constitutes the principal material for writing history. The would-be historian has to bring to bear upon this material his faculty for collection and digestion, criticism of the relative value of the various kinds of the material, and an unerring insight and unbiased judgment before he could make anything like a successful effort at presenting the history of any particular epoch or department of history. In regard to these, the first point to draw attention to as perhaps lying upon the surface, is the relative position of the document to the period of history to which it relates. The general presumption, of course, is the nearer the document is in point of time to the epoch or the period with which it professes to deal the greater the value of the document. The underlying presumption is that those that are really contemporary ought to know the historical occurrences, with the transactions leading to these occurrences and the resulting consequences therefrom, would all alike be known at first hand to a contemporary writer. While superficially the presumption may seem altogether beyond question, a closer contact with the material and the work would soon change the view and bring one perhaps to the baffling conclusion to which Freeman had arrived that no two men ever recorded a single event that took place under their own direct observation exactly alike. It may be an extreme way of putting it, but it is no doubt in the main correct as those who have had anything to do with material of this kind would readily testify. It is possible to quote modern historians attempting to build upon this basis of unquestionable reliability finding themselves woefully wide of the truth. There is much more in it than meets the eye, and a careful, critical investigation would sometimes prove that a document of perhaps a few generations later may prove to be of far greater value really than even contemporary documents. I am not referring here to the defective exploitation of material which results from the rules of archives

prohibiting the use of historical documents for a considerable time, and therefore depriving historians of the time from accessibility to contemporary documents. This is in fact true of recent history, as has been proved more than once even in respect of the literature of the Napoleonic era. *Without going so far, and fixing our attention upon matters nearer home, it could be proved to demonstration that a contemporary document need not necessarily be the best in regard to its historical worth.* One has to bear that in mind when he goes to work actually. There are a set of contemporary documents which are superciliously cast aside as valueless because of the very fact of their being contemporary documents. Documents, such as poems, addresses, and even official documents of a kind which do not contain all the truth by the very fact of their being contemporary. Nobody would think of mentioning in an address facts that may not be flattering to the person who has to receive it. No court poet would include in poems that he might compose for occasions features of character, or failures in regard to achievement, in connection with the persons addressed. But here again there certainly would be the defects indicated, but that need not necessarily mean that this class of documents is of no value otherwise. Sources of information are bound to be defective, and sound criticism ought really to be prepared to note the special characteristics of particular documents, what to expect therefrom and what not to, to ascertain the truth of the statements and accept them when proved true. To take a well-known example, an elaborate historical inscription composed a few generations later may contain material of higher value, which inscriptions contemporary with the royal person concerned, may not contain. This arises from the fact that the contemporary writer of a panegyric may have only to speak from his direct knowledge of that particular set of facts, while his later colleague may have had access to the official documents bearing upon the question, which documents may be the result of examination, investigation, criticism, and conclusions arrived at as a result of all this. Where therefore a distant contemporary gets to compile an account of what took place, in his time, giving him credit for the very best of intentions, the defect of personal opinion would still dog him, and what is more the character of the sources from which he draws his information, and his

record may be corrected in essential particulars by documents compiled from records of a secretariat which had to deal with the same topic. Again another kind of error is possible. A contemporary court historian-court historians are a familiar class for the period coming within the purview of our Congress—may compile their histories at court. It may fall to their lot to describe transactions and even actions on the field of battle, which happened at a great distance. They may have based their accounts upon official reports, upon what they were able to hear from those that took part, and other such sources of a contemporary character, which may be accessible to them. But at the time they certainly are not likely to have had access to the material which may find record in various other sources by others whose part in it may have been very much more direct and whose knowledge therefore very much more reliable, and, what is perhaps worse, the other side may have its own story to tell. In regard to a number of historians, Firishta chief among them, when they profess to compile their history from contemporary information, we find this patent defect in their accounts. Firishta sometimes makes egregious blunders in respect of things that took place in Vijayanagar or the country about, even where he gives you the information in regard to the actual contemporary sources from which he obtained it. It is a remarkable feature that the pain-taking historian that he was, there is not one name of any Vijayanagar sovereign that he has given correctly excepting Ramaraja and his brothers, apart from the defects incidental to his position at the distant court of Ahmadnagar, and the distance of time for instance. The Portuguese Chroniclers of the history of Vijayanagar in the *beyday of its glory had fallen into equally egregious errors in* respect of what took place in their own times, and in the very capital itself. Perhaps the most telling instance would be the story told by Nuniz that the Gayapati prince who was taken prisoner by Krishnadevaraya was prisoner at court. Krishnadevaraya having heard of his great skill as a sword-man wanted him to exhibit his skill in fencing as against the professional champion of the court, and the Chronicle seriously records it that rather than submit himself to this shame, the prince ran his sword through his chest and thus put an end to himself. Unfortunately for the Chronicle we have a record of this very

prince dated just a few years after the date of this incident according to Nuniz, as ruling a division on the Mysore frontier, and as having made a grant for the welfare of his master Krishnadevaraya and of his own father his contemporary. After all, Nuniz, the Chronicler was in the court of Vijayanagar, hardly fifteen years after this incident could have occurred.

This brings us to a question of the relative character for reliability among various writers of a particular period, and incidentally, of course, to accounts left by European travellers as against contemporary Indian accounts. The conviction prevails that European travellers are usually more reliable because of their having been more intelligent, and ought to be given weight, as against the contemporary Indian documents or statements. This judgment perhaps contains a grain of truth, but it is covered with a big sheath of presumption. European travellers, and even European residents, suffer under certain limitations. It is not always that one finds due allowance made for this, and it is very often that, in a variety of matters, they prove quite as faulty as others, their contemporaries. In regard to matters which come before the eye, a very intelligent European traveller might note down the details correctly, punctiliously correctly, as being perhaps better able to observe, for the simple reason that what took place or what he sees is new to him, and he is more curious about it; but get beyond this, that speciality appears to vanish. In regard to what is usually a trifle more recondite and does not strike the eye directly, they seem capable of falling into error very badly, and this could be proved wherever we have other material available to us. We have had occasion to take part in controversies of this kind, and cooler investigation has only resulted in the confirmation of our position. There again the dictum of Lord Acton remains true. It is more the strength of criticism than mere width of learning which is really conducive to the ascertainment of historical truth.

A recent experience of mine will illustrate the position excellently. An English traveller, Floris, who was in India early in the 17th century refers, in the letters that he sent home, to the contemporary ruler of Vijayanagar, the great Venkata-patiraya, as king of Vellore. This was accepted by Mr. More-

land, who thought, by the frequency of its reference in Dutch correspondence, that the king should be called king of Velur, and the kingdom must in consequence be regarded as the kingdom of Velur. If we were satisfied with the Dutch correspondence only, and the accounts of certain of the travellers, wherein the name of the Vijayanagar sovereign for the time being figured, we certainly would be forced to the same conclusion. But it happens that we are in possession of much valuable material from other sources, among them official correspondence, including a letter from King Philip III of Spain and Portugal, a treaty between the Dutch and the king regarding the grant of Pulicat to the Dutch, the king's inscriptions and literary works relating to the period, and the Jesuit Letters. On a careful compilation of the references in all these to the king, it was possible to prove the demonstration that he still had the style of king or emperor of Vijayanagar, and his capitals were referred to indifferently as Penugonda, Chandragiri and Vellore, in each of which he seems to have remained a certain number of years, sometimes continuously, but otherwise at different periods of his reign. This illustrates the dangers of formulating definite conclusions from a consideration of only a part of material. Where the conclusion happens to be of a general character and has an important bearing upon contemporary history, the error would not be minor one, and the consequences of the error would prove to be serious.

In the course of the necessary critical work, one of the prime essentials would be the appraising of the value of different sources. Here again the course is not simple, nor the criticism easy, nor are we always likely to have the critical apparatus complete. The chance of error still stares us in the face in spite of all the care that we might have taken in framing our conclusions. The importance therefore of collecting the material as fully and as widely as it is possible for us to do becomes apparent. The mere possession or collection of a vast mass of material is but the beginning of the work. The really serious part of the work begins only after. The first essential then would be a study and assimilation of the material thus collected so as to enable us to have a general idea of the state of affairs at the time, which is an important preliminary to the considera-

tion of the relative value of various classes of witnesses we might be in a position to pass before us in criticism with a view to appraising their value. It is not open to us merely to pick and choose and compile our account. Each preference that we exhibit will have to prove its worth, and it is only then that we are entitled to use one source for one particular purpose and another source for another purpose. Historical research work is not therefore the same thing as the writing of history. History must follow a long distance away from research work in history. Each point of importance has to be settled by a detailed investigation, not much of which, nay even none of which, could appear in the course of a historical exposition of an event or a period. Even though it is only subservient to the ultimate purpose of writing history, the work of research is of the utmost importance, and must be conducted with the careful impartiality and dispassionate judgment of an eminent occupant of the bench. An exhibition such as the present one is intended primarily to give an idea of the varied character of the material that may be available for investigation for the particular period of Indian History chosen. It may not be exhaustive and may not even cover all sources that may be available; but still, for giving a general idea of the mass of material and for arriving at a proper critical method of investigation, may prove to be of the greatest value.

It gives me great pleasure therefore to declare the Exhibition open, and let me express the hope that this would prove to be the means of widening the minds of those who are already engaged in research work, and of stimulating interest in those who may still remain unbitten by historical research work.

ELECTION OF PRESIDENT.

Prof. Bhuyan's Speech.

Professor S. K. Bhuyan of Gauhati in proposing Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan to the Chair in the first sitting of the All India Modern History Congress held at Poona on June 8, 9 and 10, 1935, said:

Ladies and gentlemen, upon me has evolved the most pleasant task of proposing that Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan, M. A., Litt. D., Kt., will take the Chair and preside over the deliberations of this first sitting of the All India Modern History Congress. Sir Shafaat Ahmed whose name and fame have spread throughout the length and breadth of India needs no introduction from any one. His activities in the field of Indian historical research are known to every scholar in India and even beyond its limits, though they have been somewhat obscured in recent years by services rendered in greater limelight in shaping the political destiny of our motherland as a member of the several Round Table Conferences. As Professor of History in the Allahabad University Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan has been an inspiration to thousands of students who passed through his hands. The *Journal of Indian History* founded and first edited by him has still retained its position as the premier organ of Indian historical research. His volumes dealing with the sources of Indian history of the Seventeenth Century have opened new vistas of investigation. As a Member of the Indian Historical Records Commission his judgment and counsel have been of great assistance to his colleagues. The signal distinction of Knighthood conferred upon him by His Majesty the King-Emperor only five days ago has crowned his valuable services rendered in different spheres of activity, and marks the beginning of greater honours to come. We his compatriots look upon this honour conferred upon one of our co-workers in historical research as an honour done to all of us. I may be permitted to add that Sir Shafaat's intellectualism has not left him cold by taking away the fine flavour of humanism. It is his personal affability, evidence of which I had obtained in previous historical gatherings, combined with the opportunity to see first-hand the irresistible charms of the Maharashtra country, that encouraged me to come over this long distance of 1900 miles from the eastermost corner of India through the sweltering heat of the Central Provinces. Personal magnetism which is necessary to every leader of men Sir Shafaat Ahmed has in great abundance. I congratulate the organisers of this Congress—the Bharat Itibas Samshodhak Mandal—on obtaining a man of Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan's erudition, scholarship and personality, to preside over the Poona Session of the All India Modern History Congress. With these few words I request Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan to take the Chair on this historic occasion.

All India Modern History Congress.

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DEWĀN PŪRNAYYA AS A SOCIAL LEGISLATOR.

BY

DR. B. A. SALETORE, M. A., Ph. D. (Lond.)

Summary

1. Introductory remarks: Sources of information: the various *sanads* and *nirūpas* issued by Dewān Pūrnayya—a new *sanad* from Tuluva—inscriptional evidence.
2. Dewān Pūrnayya as a legislator in Muhammadan society-his work as gathered from the *sanads* issued in A. D. 1818 and after.
3. Dewān Pūrnayya as a legislator in Hindu society: legislation concerning the pretensions of the Mārkas, a non-Brahman section, to rise higher in the social scale. The Nidambūr *nirūpa* from Tuluva:—the *nirūpā* in original—criticism of the *nirūpa*—conclusions regarding the validity of the claims put forward by the Nidambūr Ballāls for supreme right to decide intricate social questions in Tuluva—evidence from Tuluva tradition as embodied in Tuluva *Grāmapaddhati* and inscriptions in support of the importance of the Nidambūr household.
4. Concluding remarks concerning the Nidambūr household.

DEWĀN PŪRNAYYA AS A SOCIAL LEGISLATOR.

Round the figure of Dewān Pūrnayya, one of south India's most prominent statesmen, centre certain considerations which have escaped the notice of historians. I propose to deal with one of these considerations which is of particular interest to the present generation. It refers to the rôle the Dewān played as a "national" legislator in socio-religious matters. The sources of information for the following details are the *sanads* and the *nirūpas* issued by Dewān Pūrnayya himself. Most of them have been found in Mysore, while an interesting one hails from Tuluva (modern South Kanara). It is alleged to have been given to an ancestor of Pandit Rāghavēndra Ballāla of Nidambūr, who has been pleased to place the original in my hands for purposes of examination. The object of this paper is, as given above, to delineate the part played by Dewān Pūrnayya in the socio-religious history of the times, and incidentally to examine the validity of the *nirūpa* from Nidambūr.

II

Dewān Pūrnayya lived amidst troublesome times. On the one hand were the Muhammadans who by the right of conquest had made Mysore their home. On the other, there were the Hindus whose social and political structure had been shattered by the Muhammadan usurpation, and whose different sections showed signs of social commotion. Dewān Pūrnayya had to satisfy both the Hindus and the Muhammadans, and the following *nirūpas* and *sanads* prove beyond doubt how successfully he solved the questions before him.

We shall first turn our attention to the manner in which he dealt with the socio-religious problems in Muhammadan society. In A. D. 1808 Dewān Pūrnayya issued a *sanad* to Khāji Muhammad Imām of Maddagiri appointing him as the Khāji of Maddagiri tāluka. The *sanad* enumerates the duties the Khāji had to perform, and relates among other things, the following:—That the Khāji had to send through the Amildār a list of all the

Muhammadans of the tāluka noting the profession followed by every one of them. He was to conduct the marriage, funeral and other ceremonies among them; and to receive whatever was paid by them according to their means. He was not to demand more. And in cases of real poverty, he was ordered to conduct the above ceremonies free of charge for the pleasure of God. Moreover the Khāji was to keep the mosque neat and clean, and to get it repaired where necessary through the Amildār. He was to see that there were no quarrels and riots among the Muhammadans; and in case there was a breach of the peace, he was to report it to the Amildār and have the dispute settled.¹

The above *sanad* contains many other interesting details which are outside our purview. That the minister of Kīsna Rāja Odeyar III should have so assiduously looked to the spiritual and material welfare of his Muhammadan subjects, even after the firm establishment of the Hindu dynasty on the throne of Mysore, may at first sight seem rather strange. But Dewān Pūrnayya's benevolence to the Muhammadan subjects was neither feigned nor accidental. From the unique Kannada work entitled *Haidar Nāmā*-styled also *Nallappa Ms.* by Dr. M. H. Krishna who discovered it—written just before the death of Haidar Ali (i. e., between June 29th 1784 and the death of Haidar Ali on Dec. 7th 1767), by a contemporary of that remarkable ruler, we learn that in A. D. 1767-8 Pūrnayya was only a *gumāsta* or clerk under the Kannada *mutsuddi* of Tōsekhāne Venkaṭaramanayya. Being well-versed in accounts he became the favourite of Asad Ali Khān, the Darogha of Bangalore; and on Tōsekhāne Venkaṭaramanayya's death, was appointed *mutsuddi* with the additional duty of looking after the *kārakhānas* or factories of the kingdom. The State bestowed on him the right of carrying a golden umbrella for his valuable services. And when Haidar Ali was on his death-bed, on December 7th 1782, Pūrnayya was one of the five important officers who was called by that ruler and entrusted with the duty of faithfully serving Haidar's son and successor.² A statesman, therefore, who owed his rise and greatness to the generosity of the Muhammadan

1. *Mysore Archaeological Report for 1918*, p. 61.

2. *Ibid for 1930*, pp. 95, 96, and 100.

ruler could not but have been kind and considerate to the Muhammadan subjects even after the death of Haidar Ali.

III

The measures Dewān Purnayya took to meet the socio-religious demands of his Hindu subjects show that he was equally considerate to the Hindu society. We select two sets of instances to illustrate our assertion: one refers to the regions lying within Mysore, and the other to Tuluva. In A. D. 1806 and again in A. D. 1807 Dewān Pūrṇayya addressed two *nirūpas* to the Amildārs and Killeldārs of Mysore, Haradanahalli, Yaḍandūru, Tāyūru, Gupḍāl, Terakanāmbi, and other places. In these *nirūpas* the Dewān tells them that information having reached him to the effect that the Mārkas, living within their tālukas, having given up their hereditary customs and observances, were adopting those of the Brahmans; that the Mārkas being the disciples of the Śringēri *matha*, the representatives of that *matha* were ordered to enquire into their conduct and to keep them within bounds; and that in case the Mārkas disobeyed or opposed the representatives of the *matha*, they were to be arrested and sent to the *hujūr*. The Government officers were ordered to afford every facility to the representatives of the Śringēri *matha*, even in the matter of inflicting condign punishment on the delinquents.³

A more interesting *nirūpa* is dated A. D. 1807 and addressed to the Amildārs of *aramane-gaḍi-śīme*. It runs thus:—"We hear that a Śūdra, calling himself the *guru* of the Dēvāṅgas, is causing trouble by proposing to make them wear the sacred thread which they had never worn, and to give them *upadēśa* (initiation). The Śūdra never had the sacred thread, nor initiation. The Śūdra who is attempting to introduce this innovation ought to be punished. The Svāmi has written that the Dēvāṅgas are the disciples of the Śringēri *matha*. Tell the Dēvāṅgas not to listen to the Śūdra's words, as otherwise they will be punished by the representatives of the *matha* for their objectionable procedure. If the Śūdra still persists in giving trouble expel him from the town."⁴

3. *Ibid* for 1916, p. 77.

4. *Ibid*, p. 77.

Two more *nirūpas* dated A. D. 1807 and A. D. 1809 and addressed to the Amildārs and Killeldārs, direct them to help the representatives of the Śringēri *matha* in collecting contributions such as *dīpārādhane*, *kāñike*, etc., from the disciples, and to notify that no one should interfere when punishment was meted out to those charged with bad conduct.⁵

IV

We now turn to the distant province of Tuluva. The above *nirūpa* from Nidāmbūr is one of the sources for this part of the narrative, others being Tuluva tradition and the stone inscriptions discovered in Tuluva. The Nidambūr *nirūpa* runs thus in the original:—

“Seal with the following inscription in Nāgari characters:—Śrī Venkata Narasiṁha nija pūrṇa sukha-Śrī Madhva-śāstra-saṁpannar-ūdaṇtha Vēda-mūrti Nidambūr Pakṣi (ṣa) nūtha Anāñtācāryarige Śrīmanṭa Pūrnayyanu sūstāṅga namskāra Rudhirōda (dha) gari saṁ, ārtīva (ka) Ba. 3 varege kṣemada (l) li iddene Nimma kṣema-kūsalāṅgalige barasi kaluhuvadu sūmprata namma tālokugala!li yi (i) ruva nimma Tautava dēṣada dvāṭīmśa agraharā (da) Brūhmaṇara varṇāśrama īcāra vicūra Śrī Madhva-Vijaya Saṁhayādrai (Sahyādri) Pūrūṇōkta prakūra naḍi (su?) vaṇṭāddaralli vandara (?) janaru nimma ājñā mīri naddeya (naḍeya) likke (likke) kāraṇa iēn-iddhītu (idditu) (?) Tālūku īmila (dāra) rige paravāne baresit kaluhiddene Paraśurāma Devara ājñā prakūra varnāśrama dhcrmma Oche (ce) nnāgi vicūrīsi kondu baruvodu yi (i) (ii) tī sastāṅga namata kṛiya.”

Translation:—Śrī Venkateśa Narasiṁha nija pūrṇa sukha: To Vēdamūrti Anāñtācārya Pakṣanātha of Nidāmbur, well versed in the śāstras, salutations from Śrīman Pūrnayya: I am in good health till Rudhirōdgāri sam (vatsara) Kārtika Bahula 3. It is customary (for you) to inform us of your welfare. Of the Taulava country which is included among our tālukas, in the matter of the conformity of the Brāhmaṇas (and other people) belonging to the thirty-two agrahāras, to the regulations pertaining to the varṇāśramas as related in the Śrī-Madhva Vijaya

5. Ibid.

purūṇa (and ?) Sahyādri, what could be the reason of the people transgressing your injunctions? I have ordered the Amildār (to enquire into the matter). (You are) to enquire into the varṇāśrama-dharma as commanded by god Paraśurāma. Such are the respectful salutations.

Criticism of the above nirūpa

(a) *Language*: The orthography and the language of the above *nirūpa* are corrupt.

(b) *Beginning*: The seals on Dewān Pūrnayya's *nirūpas* and *sanads* generally contain the following three lines in Nāgari: *Nija-pūrṇa sukha Śri-Lakṣmī-Nṛsimha*. Thus, for instance, the *sanads* presented to the Svāmi of the Śringēri *matha* in A. D. 1801 and 1810.⁶ But some of the *nirūpas* addressed to other officials begin in a different manner:—For example, a *sanad* presented to Amildār Cenna Garudayya begins thus:—*Raja Śri Kōlārada Amila Cenni Garudayya navarige Pūrnayyanavaru barasida nirūpa*⁷. This however seems to be an exception. For the above Nāgari inscription was used in the *nirūpas* addressed even to Muhammadan officials. For example, the two *nirūpas* dated A. D. 1801 and addressed to Killedār Hussain Khān.⁸ The Nidambūr *nirūpa* contains a seal with a Nāgari inscription which is not met with elsewhere. This makes the Nidambūr *nirūpa* a suspicious document.

(c) *Ending*: Dewān Pūrnayya's *nirūpas* and *sanads* end, on the whole, uniformly with the syllable *Śri* which stood for his signature. Rarely was the date affixed to the signature, as in the *nirūpi* addressed to Amildār Cenna Garudayya mentioned above. This *nirūpa* ends thus:—*Caitra Śuddha 9 llu raju Śri*.⁹ The *sanads* addressed to the Śringēri Svāmi, however, end more elaborately thus:—*int-i-binnaha*—(Such is the respectful communication).¹⁰

6. M. A. R. for 1916, p. 75.

7. *Ibid* for 1927, p. 85.

8. *Ibid* for 1914-5, p. 66. See also *ibid* for 1918, p. 61; *ibid* for 1913-4, p. 12.

9. *Ibid* for 1927, p. 85.

10. M. A. R. for 1916, p. 76, op. cit.

The Nidambūr *nirūpa* in addition to its defective orthography and language, does not end in the manner indicated above. The ending—*yint-i sūstāṅga namata kriya*—appears uncommon and suspicious. For it is questionable whether Dewān Pūrnayya who used the proper form—*int-i binnaha*—to such an eminent religious leader like the Śringēri Svāmi, would ever have used *sūstāṅga namata kriya*—to Anantācārya, who however prominent he may have been in the learned circles of Tuluva, was certainly not a leader who possessed the power and prestige of the Śringeri Svāmi. These considerations compel us to look with some suspicion on the Nidambūr *nirūpa*.

Nevertheless the claims which this *nirūpa* puts forward on behalf of the head of the Niduambūr household, in regard to certain socio-religious privileges, are not altogether invalid. Both according to Tuluva tradition as embodied in the *Grāmapaddhati* and in the inscriptions found in Tuluva, it is clear that the Nidambūr leaders occupied a pre-eminent position in the Brahman society of Tuluva.

The *nirūpa* in question calls Vēdamūrti Anantācārya a *pakṣanātha* (leader of one side). That the right of being a *pakṣanātha* belonged to the head of the Nidambūr household (called in one version of the *Grāmapaddhati*, Nidubūru)¹¹, there cannot be any doubt. For all versions of the *Grāmapaddhati*, while dealing with the usage in Kōta (written in some versions as Kūta), speak of the heads of the Nidambrū and Citupādi households as *pakṣanāthas*.¹² The *Grāmapaddhati* relates that in the General Assembly, the procedure of which is described in detail, the Pandits were to explain (the matter on hand) to the *pakṣanāthas*, who in their turn were to refer the question to the *māhajanas* (burgesses) assembled.

The earliest epigraphical reference to the Ballālas is in a stone record found in Tuluva and dated only in the cyclic year Visu (Vrsa) but assignable to the Śaka year 1203. (A. D. 1281 January 9th Thursday). The importance of this stone

11 Bhaṭṭācāryas Version, p. 43. (Mangalore, 1924.)

12 MSS. of the *Grāmapaddhati* in my possession. Cf. Srinivasa Hegde, *Dakṣiṇa Kannada Jilleya Carite*, p. 96. (Mangalore, 1913.)

inscription has been discussed by me elsewhere.¹³ In this inscription we are informed that Hariyappa Dannayaka, along with many others among whom are *aruvaru Ballālāru* (the sixty Ballālas), made an endowment.¹⁴ The *aruvaru Ballālāru* mentioned in this record are to be identified with the *aruvaltu Ballālāru* spoken of in a later record found also in Tuluva, and dated Śaka 1321 (A. D. 1399-1400).¹⁵ In this later record too the sixty Ballālas are cited as witnesses, along with the representatives of Mūdila Nidambūr, and corporate bodies, to a grant made by a Vijayanagara viceroy.¹⁶

From the above two records the following may be deduced:-

- (a) That the recognised name of Nidambūr was Mūdila Nidambūr (Eastern Nidambūr);
- (b) That there were sixty Ballāls who were associated with the representatives of Mūdila Nidambūr and
- (c) That they were reckoned to be of great importance, especially in public matters when their presence was necessary to confirm a grant.

Other stone records confirm the evidence supplied by the above inscription in regard to the last detail. A stone inscription dated Śaka 1317 (A. D. 1395-6), found in the Kṛṣṇa temple at Uḍipi, styles the locality thus:—*Śivalīya mūḍela Nidambūr*. It locates the same temple in Uḍipi in the Nidambūr grāma thus:—*Śivalīya mūḍela Nidambūra grāmada madhyada Uḍupina sthānada Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-dēvarige*.¹⁷

A later inscription built in the north wall of the same Kṛṣṇa *matha* and dated Śaka 1359 (A. D. 1437-8) records a stone grant made by the Vijayanagara viceroy Singanna Dannayaka. The occasion was the following:—certain regulations pertaining to the temple of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa having relaxed a little, the people petitioned to the Government (in the matter). To the action which

13. See the writer's *History of Tuluva* pp. 283-284.

14. 43 of 1901; *South Indian Inscriptions*, VII, pp. 108-9.

15. 154C of 1901; S. I. I., VII, p. 207; Saleatore, *ibid.*, pp. 294-5.

16. For details, read Saleatore, *ibid.*

17. 112 of 1901; S. I. I., VII, p. 151.

the Government took, there were the signatures of the viceroy Annappa Odeyar, Karanika Purusottams, the prominent citizens of Mūdila Nidambūr, etc. (*Annappa vodeyara voppa Karanika Purusottama baraha Mūdila Nidambūravara grāmadavara voppa, etc.*)¹⁸

Another stone grant which is greatly defaced, found also in the same Sri-Krsna *matha* at Udupi, ends thus:—*Śrī Vira Harihararāya(ra) ioppa Śrī-Virūpākṣa dēvaru Śivalīya Mūdila Nidambūru grāmda voppa Uḍupina Śrī Mahā-devaru Koṇḍā-ūravara ioppa, etc.*¹⁹

An equally defaced stone grant also found in the same locality, and likewise undated, gives the name Mūdilla Nidambūr which is evidently an error for Mūdila Nidambūr.²⁰ The Nidambūr citizens (*Nidambūravara grāmadavaru*) were cited as witnesses also on another occasion when the Vijayanagara viceroy Mallappa Odeyar visited the Sri Krsna temple at Udupi²¹ This Mallappa Odeyar was evidently the same Mallappa Odeyar who was the viceroy over Bārakuru under Sadāśiva Rāya in A. D. 1554-5.²²

There is one little point which cannot satisfactorily be explained at the present stage of our investigations. This is how the Nidambūr manorial house passed from the hands of the Jaina Ballālas into the possession of the Brahmans. The explanation given by some that the last of the Jaina Ballālas gave the Nidambūr principality as a gift to some Brahmans who persuaded his son, who had turned a *sanyasin* to return home, does not carry any conviction with it.²³

18. 109 of 1901; S. I. I., VII., pp. 147-48.

19. 115 of 1901; S. I. I., VII., pp. 155-6.

20. 111 of 1901; S. I. I., VII., pp. 150-1.

21. 116 A. of 1901; S. I. I., VII. p. 157.

22. Epigraphical Report for 1927-8, p. 64.

23. Thus tradition relates at Nidambur, B. A. S.

THE DIVERSION ON ARKOT IN 1751—ITS GENESIS.

PROF. C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY.

i. Introductory—the Situation in the Beginning of 1751:—

After the assassination of Nasir Jang in the mêlée near Gingee on the 16th December 1750, Muzaffar Jang was raised to the throne by the military camarilla that brought about the assassination of Nasir Jang. The new Nizam conferred on Dupleix the title of Zafar Jang, granted to the French Company the Jaghirs of Gingee, Tiruviti and other places and gave suitable titles, mansabs and presents to Mm. Law, D' Auteuil and other French Captains. Himmat Bahadur Khan, Nawab of Kurnool, got the title of Rustam Jang and the Jaghirs of Raichur and Adoni; Nawab Abdul Nabi Khan of Cuddapah secured the Jaghirs of Gandikota, Gooty, and Gurramkonda; and the last of the Pathan trio, Abdul Karim Khan of Savanur, secured the Jaghir of Sira. Ramdas Pandit who had risen, by dint of clever intrigue, from a low position under the Faujdar of Chicacole to that of *Peshkar Bakshi* of Nasir Jang's army and who had been secretly working for the French interest and for Muzaffar Jang, got the title of Raja Ragunath Das; while, Abdul Rahiman, the Captain of the French Sepoys in the Nizam's camp, got the title of Muzaffar Khan.¹

From December 1750 to March 1751, Pondicherry was the political pivot of the whole country, and all matters of importance were decided by Dupleix. Consequently there was great discontent among the Pathan Nawabs who had agreed before Dupleix and under his pressure that half the money found in Nasir Jang's treasury should be divided amongst them while their dominions should be increased by some districts, which

1. *Tuzuk-I-Walajahi* of Burhanu'd-din which is now being translated by Muhammad Hussain Nainar annotated by the writer for the Madras University.

St. David (received 2/13th March 1751) that Mir Asad of Chetpat, Mutabir Khan of Ranjangudi, Hirasat Khan and Murtaza Ali Khan of Vellore were all his friends and his troops could take shelter in their forts whenever they might be sent to take possession of the Carnatic country.³ He apprehended that Chanda Sahib perhaps planned to march against Trichinopoly straight from Pondicherry and that Captain Cope, having marched towards Madura with most of the English troops, Trichinopoly, denuded as it was, would be easily the objective of the enemy.⁴ Muhammad Ali thus gave out his plans: "I do therefore give it as my opinion that it is highly necessary to strengthen the affairs of Trichinopoly Fort, retake Madura (from Alam Khan, an adherent of Chanda Sahib who had come to be in possession of it in the beginning of 1751) and settle Tinnevelly, but at the same time we ought to be mindful of the affairs at Arcot, and use our endeavours to weaken the enemy, for if we proceed to Arcot before we retake Madura, Alam Khan will grow powerful. On the other side if we neglect Chanda Sahib on account of Madura it will prejudice our affairs, for he has already taken possession of Chetpat and thought himself happy by our ill success at Madura (where Cope and Abdul Wahab Khan, a younger brother of Muhammad Ali, had been repulsed from before the walls and the cannon had to be blown up and a large body of cavalry deserted over to Alam Khan) and has now sent out his (blank) with a design to march against my place. We must therefore be mindful of both these affairs and to that end I think it requisite to send a part of my army with a detachment of your troops to Madura and the other part of the army shall be commanded by my brother Abdul Wahab Khan who in conjunction with your troops are [sic] abroad upon the expedition to Arcot, shall watch the motions of the enemy and lay at Wootatore to resist and punish them as occasion may require".⁵

3. No. 29 of Country Correspondence, Public Department, 1751—Records of Fort St. George.

4. No. 45 and 59 of Country Correspondence, Public Department, 1751.—Records of Fort St. George.

5. Letter No. 59 of Muhammad Ali to Fort St. David received 20th April 1751—For Cope's failure before Madura, see Orme; Vol. I, pp. 169-170; and *Orme MSS. O. V.* (India Office, Hill's Catalogue).

Writing a few days later, the Nawab was sanguine that Madura could be easily retaken and it should be secured "before we think of settling the affairs of Arcot". Governor Saunders appreciated the wisdom of the plan of the Nawab; but he deprecated the sloth of the Nawab's movements. He thus wrote to Muhammad Ali on the 30th April, 11th May, 1751:—"Am doubtful whether you have come to a final resolution as I, two days past had advices from Captain Cope that you were determined to send your forces under Abdul Bob (Wahab) Khan to join us. Our troops have been abroad above a month; when they first went out, Chanda Sahib had gained no advantage and it was thought your joining us would entirely frustrate his designs. I have since been informed that the Governors of Chetpat, Arni, and Vellore, finding themselves too weak to oppose him and despairing of assistance, have made the best terms they could and that Chanda Sahib is now at Arcot. On receipt of your letter I wrote to the Deputy Governor of Madras to send a detachment to Vellore, but the affair was finished. *It is my opinion that if you don't attack Chanda Sahib in this province, he will attack you; if his forces come into your country they will plunder and ruin it, but if yours enter his, it will be the contrary.* The friendship and regard I have for you induce me plainly to tell you what I think."

Muhammad Ali was apprehensive of Chanda Sahib's march on Trichinopoly and was chagrined when Cope had to send away a detachment with 500 horse and an equal number of peons and 100 men to Fort St. David under definite instructions from Saunders. He could only repeat his firm conviction that "if this (Trichinopoly) is preserved, we shall be enabled to retake Arcot".

3. Chanda Sahib's Movements.

Having received the submission of the Killedars of Vellore, Chetpat, and Arni, Chanda Sahib deemed Arcot and the Carnatic country to be secure enough for him under the circumstances and began his march on Trichinopoly about the 20th of May. Dupleix asked his Dubash, Ananda Ranga Pillai, the famous diarist, to write letters to the Rajas of Tanjore and Mysore and to the "72 Poligars of Trichinopoly" not to help Muhammad

Ali on pain of losing their fiefs and being punished. Ranga Pillai wrote in his entry for April 30, 1751, that Dupleix sent a cowle alleged to have been granted to Muhammad Ali by Salabat Jang, to Trichinopoly and desired him to accept it and deliver the Fort to Chanda Sahib's people.⁶ To this Muhammad Ali replied that he had already received from Ghazi-ud-din Khan Fyroz Jang (the elder brother of Nasir Jang) at Delhi a copy of a *parwana*, granting him the subas of Payanghat and Balaghat Carnatic along with a copy of the Mughal Emperor's letter to Ghazi'uddin Khan.⁷ Dupleix was greatly irritated at this reply and sent urgent letters to Chanda Sahib to settle with the Kille-dar of Arni (with whom he was then parleying) without any further delay and to proceed straight to Trichinopoly by way of Tiruvannamalai. Shaikh Hasan, a younger brother of Abdur Rabman and a Captain of the French Sepoys, who accompanied Chanda Sahib was to have the Fort and Jaghir of Arni, yielding two lakhs of rupees. But Chanda Sahib was as dilatory and lacking in resolution as his rival. Shortly after he began his march, he wrote that as the English under Gingens had taken Vriddhachalam, he had to postpone his advance; Dupleix was so anxious that the place should be recaptured that he recalled Shaikh Hasan who had been sent to reduce the Chittore Palayams and ordered him to beat out the English.

6. The Cowle was not probably known to the diarist and is given as appendix No. 1 in Vol. VIII of the *Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*; (Tr. by H. H. Dodwell. It is dated March 12, 1751 and granted the Sarkars of Rajahmundry, Chicacole, Ellore, Masulipatam, Mustafa Nagar and Muzafer Nagar to Muhammad Ali, along with two strong forts and a Jaghir and also promising him not to call him to account for the dues of his father and himself with respect to the Carnatic and Trichinopoly revenues.

7. Translation of the *parwana* from Ghazi-ud-din Khan to Muhammad Ali, dated 12th Rabi ul Avval—29th January 1751. O. S. and attested by a Kadi (2) letter from Nawab Javid Khan Vizier to the Emperor to Muhammad Ali bearing the same date and attested by a Kadi, (3) a *parwana* from the Emperor Ahmad Shah to Muhammad Ali, dated 2nd Moon Rabi ul Avval answering to the 19th January 1751 (O. S.) and attested by a Kadi, were received by Governor Saunders as a post script to Muhammad Ali's letter (No. 28—Country Correspondence—Public Department—1751) on the 29th March 1751.

4. Operations on the Road to Trichinopoly (May-August 1751).

On the English side, Captain Gingens took the field in May in order to bar the march of Chanda Sahib to Trichinopoly. His original instruction was that he was to wait in the vicinity of Fort St. David till he should be joined by Muhammad Ali's troops. After about six weeks of waiting he was joined, about the middle of May, by 600 horse and 1,000 peons of the Nawab. He then moved westward towards Triddhachalam whose fortified pagoda was garrisoned by about 300 of Chanda Sahib's troops who surrendered after a slight assault. After leaving a small body of troops there, the English continued their march and were joined by a detachment of 100 Europeans sent by Cope and by about 4000 troops of the Nawab, both cavalry and foot, under Abdul Wahab Khan, near Valikandapuram (Volcondah of Orme and other historians). Gingens captured and burnt the village of Volcondah which formed the petta of the adjoining Rock Fort of Ranjangudi whose Jaghirdar, Mutabir Khan, was a Tahir and therefore a hereditary enemy of Anwarud-din's family and had refused to open its gates to the English. There was an action between the English troops and those of Chanda Sahib encamped close by, in which the former fled for no apparent reason though the officers including Clive, who was then a lieutenant, did all they could to stop the disgraceful flight (June 30).⁸

The troops of Muhammad Ali behaved in this action better than ever they did afterwards and even reproached the English in the field of battle for their want of spirit.⁹

After this action, Chanda Sahib followed Gingens to Uttatur, situated about 25 miles from Trichinopoly, where the road passes between a hill and a ridge of rock which were described by Orme as "the streights of Uttatur" and by Dalton as "the barrier to the Trichinopoly Country." On the 20th July, some of the English and Nawabi troops were decoyed into an ambuscade from the "streights" where they were encamped. In this action, most of the sepoys were cut to pieces and Lieutenant Maskelyne was taken prisoner. This fresh disaster disheartened the English still further; and Dalton whom Chanda Sahib advanced to fight with, had to avoid an action and retired with some difficulty to the main camp. This attack of Chanda Sahib made Gingens resolve to abandon "the streights," as he was afraid that the enemy might post his cavalry between the place and Trichinopoly. He moved out the same night and, after a quick march for eighteen hours, encamped close to the northern bank of the Coleroon, occupying the fortified pagoda of Pich-chandar Koil. Gingens then crossed the river, followed by the French and Chanda Sahib and took possession of the Srirangam Island and its Great Pagoda. Even here the English did not feel themselves secure: they crossed the Kaveri and took refuge under the walls of Trichinopoly (July 28th). The French also rapidly pushed on after them; and they and Chanda Sahib took possession of Srirangam, conquered the mudfort of Koiladi at the eastern extremity of the Island, crossed the Kaveri and encamped on the plain to the east of Trichinopoly in the neighbourhood of what is now known as the French Rock, about a mile to the South-east of the Fort.¹⁰ On Chanda Sahib's side, the French

10. The enemy seemed to have got posession of Koiladi about the middle of August (O. S.), according to Orme. Ananda Ranga Pillai writes in his entry for September 14, that he heard from a letter of Chanda Sahib to Pondicherry that he intended to cross the Coleroon and occupy Srirangam. Apparently he first crossed the Coleroon alone without the French and possibly withdrew when the latter refused to follow him (Diary Vol. VIII. Note on P. 29). Ranga Pillai heard, on September 17, that he was about to cross the Coleroon into Srirangam. According to the *Turuk-i-Walajahi*, Chanda Sahib "broke the pot of his honour" at the *Maidan* of the Nawab's Tank, adjoining Uttatur and then stayed at Samayavaram for 2 months and 21 days engaging himself in taking possession of the country. Ahsanu'd-din then marched with a French

officers stubbornly refused to cross the Coleroon after the engagements of Volcondah and Uttatur; and they lagged behind the sepoys of Shaik Hasan who bore the brunt of the fighting in these places and in the capture of the island. Presumably Chanda Sahib crossed the Coleroon alone and occupied Srirangam as soon as the English had quitted it. Cope and his men got on only equally badly with Muhammad Ali.

5. Muhammad Ali Repeats the Urgency of a Diversion on the Arcot Country:—

But the nearer Chanda Sahib approached Trichinopoly, the more frightened Muhammad Ali became for his own safety. The latter was prepared to deliver up the districts of Trichinopoly, Madura, and Tinnevelly to the English, provided they allowed him 2 lakhs of Madras Pagodas every year for his expenses; as an alternative, he desired the English to negotiate with the French and conclude a peace between him and Chanda Sahib, "that each of us may remain in peaceable possession of his respective country, that is, I in Trichinopoly and its dependencies, and Chanda in Arcot".¹¹ At the end of the letter containing the above alternatives, Muhammad Ali wrote in his own hand thus:—"Please to raise as great a disturbance as possible in Conjeevaram etc. countries". Muhammad Ali himself sent a letter to Dupleix which was received on the 8th August in which he pretended that he was ready to evacuate Trichinopoly under a safe conduct according to the terms of Salabat Jang's Coule and was even willing to go over to Pondicherry to discuss the whole situation. Ranga Pillai heard that he had sent emissaries to Alam Khan at Madura, offering him terms in return for his own assistance. Ranga Pillai suspected that the Nawab Muhammad Ali was already getting to be suspicious of

army, according to the instructions of his master, Chanda Sahib, and brought under his control the temples of Srirangam and Jamghir (Jambukeswaram) and "the vapour of his breath caused by the heat of his exertions to subdue the tract of land from the Cauvery upto the back of the hill of Dobbykonda (French Rock) went as far as the sky".

11. The Nawab's letter to Governor Saunders received on the 29th July, 19th August-1751 (No. 103—Country correspondence, Public De-

the sincerity of the English and could be easily persuaded into believing that they were ready to abandon him. So when Governor Saunders wrote to Chanda Sahib taxing him with having unjustly seized the Trichinopoly Country, advantage was taken of his sealed letter to prepare an inner slip, as though addressed by Saunders to Chanda Sahib offering to deliver up to the latter the Fort of Trichinopoly and the person of Muhammad Ali on certain conditions.¹² A letter of Muhammad Ali to Governor Saunders received on the 15, 26 August, discloses how he did not feel very secure in the possession of English friendship; he thus began his letter:—"I have had the pleasure to receive a letter from you wherein you are pleased to intimate that affairs in this World are not always upon the same footing so that I should by the help of God continue to be mindful of my own affairs. I do not doubt but you will be mindful of the friendship between us according as you have wrote to me."

A second re-inforcement was sent by the English to Trichinopoly from Devikotta. A considerable volume of discontent prevailed at Trichinopoly among the English officers, several of whom had to be removed. The English were opposed in their march by some of Chanda Sahib's troopers, while the Tanjore forces intercepted them when they were nearing Trichinopoly, but they broke through and reached the Fort safely.¹³ As if in answer to this English reinforcement of Muhammad Ali, Dupleix resolved to send 200 soldiers who had lately arrived at Pondicherry and asked Raza Sahib, the son of Chanda Sahib, to accompany them to Trichinopoly.

12. Dodwell remarks that this was "a device characteristic of Dupleix, no matter whether proposed by him or not". For the reply of Chanda Sahib to Saunders, see No. 109, *Country Correspondence*, 1751, Public Department; letter received on 20, 31 August.

13. According to a Fort St. David consultation of July 22, Aug. 2, 1751, a commission was given to Clive who proceeded with a detachment into the Tanjore Country where he was joined by another from Devikotta under Captain Clarke. Some French troops from Koiladi had a skirmish with the English who, however, made a detour, in order to avoid the enemy and reached Trichinopoly in safety (Orme Vol. I p. 182, and Forrest's *Clive*; Vol. I. p. 137).

Nawab Muhammad Ali had, for some months past, been often stressing on the value of a diversion in the country of Arcot. He had all along been holding the view that if troops had been despatched from Madras, they could take possession of several places in the Arcot country and the enemy might have been obliged to desist marching to Trichinopoly.¹⁴ At first Governor Saunders and his Council thought that this might be effected by Captain Gingens leaving sufficient number of men in Trichinopoly and marching with a detachment into the Arcot country.

Rightly therefore did the contemporary annalist of the Carnatic, Burhanu'd-din, write in his *Tuzuk-i-Walajahi* thus:—“When weakness overtook the besieged at Natharnagar, on account of the protraction of the siege and the stubbornness of the enemy, Hazarat Aala (Muhammad Ali) devised to divide the attention of the enemy and thus to remove the weariness of his own men and to clear the roads for the coming in of provisions. Accordingly Hazarat Aala despatched Muhammad Madinah Ali Khan and Mr. Clive, the Sirdar of the English army, with sepoys who bore hatred to the enemy to subdue the town and the fort of Arcot and thus to exhibit their courage”, (from the manuscript translation by Mr. Muhammad Husain Nainar, Senior Lecturer

14. Vide para 4 of the Nawab's letter received at Madras on the 26th May, 6th June. (No. 74 of Country correspondence 1751). Again in his letter to Saunders received on the 27th June, 8th July 1751, the Nawab reiterated his advice in the following words —“Be pleased also to send a proper assistance and a supply of warlike necessaries. Some time ago I desired you by several letters to send a small force from Madras to assist my amaldars to take possession of the several districts lying that way. If this had been done, the enemy might have been deprived of the revenues of the country which in all likelihood would have obliged them to decline their march this way and then our troops would have fought them to their entire defeat in that country.....For instance I beg leave to mention that while Mr. Hinde was Governor, I marched with my forces to Fort St. David to protect it; at that time I had an engagement with the French and defeated them. On this, out of a good contrivance, they ordered their troops then in Madras to march into the Poonamalle Conjeevaram, Tripassore etc., countries.....This obliged me to send part of my troops from Fort St. David to put a stop to their proceedings. I must repeat that my amaldars in Madras are very willing to execute my orders. I hope therefore that you will give them the necessary assistance”

in the Islamic Section, Oriental Research Institute, University of Madras).

6. Governor Saunders Appreciates the Nawab's Idea:—

Governor Saunders now began to appreciate the value of the Nawab's proposal. At first he was very hesitating. He wrote to the Nawab on the 23rd August thus:—"As I judge a diversion in the Arcot country may be serviceable to your affairs, I have sent a party of men with good officers to Madras to be reinforced with more; these are to raise money for you.....whatever is got is entirely for you; but in case of hostilities the plunder is to be half yours; the other half to the officers and men, as soldiers who venture their lives ought to be rewarded." The Nawab responded to this letter by writing to his Diwan, Sampat Rao, who was at Madras to send Wali Muhammad Khan or some other officer along with the English troops and also to write to Bommarazu and other poligars for help. He then envisaged the consequential happenings in the following words:—"As soon as our troops have begun (to make) incursions in the Arcot country it will hinder the enemy from receiving the revenues which will weaken them greatly; and they cannot divide their troops; in case they march with their whole army towards Arcot, my troops shall pursue them jointly with yours and those of Mysore and Tanjore.....If it happens that the enemy retreat and our troops pursue them, I shall then be able to collect money from different parts which will be a means to gain our ends. *You will in no ways neglect to disturb the Arcot country and take possession of the several districts.* This may probably withdraw the enemy's troops from this (Trichinopoly) country." Muhammad Ali urged his view in the following words, in a subsequent letter, in reply to Governor Saunders,¹⁵ after Arcot was actually taken and when its

15. Saunders felt that though the English and the Nawab's forces might be strong enough to keep Arcot, they would never be able to collect the revenues from the poligars, without some of the Trichinopoly troops joining them. The enemy was strong in cavalry while they had none and therefore when they were beat, they could not be pursued. He added "It is thought this will not divert Chanda Sahib from his enterprise on Trichinopoly, there is no time to lose, exert yourself, engage Chanda, if possible and send some horse to Arcot." (Letter No. 193,—Country Correspondence of 1751).

full significance was not well perceived by the English, and Clive actually proposing to abandon Arcot and garrisoning himself in Timiri:—"It is highly necessary for us to take care of this place; it has pleased you to fortify the fort at Vriddhachalam. *I cannot omit writing to you that Arcot is the metropolis of the Carnatic country so that the Fort will be of better use to us than Vriddhachalam; I must repeat you will take care to make it strong by demolishing all the buildings which may be destructive to it.....* By the blessing of God the present success will procure you a great name in the Deccan and Hindustan countries and also in Europe.....Please...to make diversions in the several districts round your place."

7. The Immediate effect of the Capture of Arcot:—

Actually the English capture of Arcot,¹⁶ did not make any great impression on the country; nor did it much disturb the minds of the Pondicherry people. News of the English march to Arcot did not reach Dupleix for a week; and Polur Muhammad Ali Khan, a brother of Chanda Sahib, who was the Killeddar at Arcot and had evacuated it after a little or no resistance, was promised reinforcements from Pondicherry where the crafty Madame Dupleix gave out as her advice that it would not be advisable to recall Chanda Sahib's or the French troops from

16. Governor Saunders wrote to Muhammad Ali, on 15-16 August, that he had resolved to leave only three or four hundred men at Trichinopoly and make a diversion on the Arcot country with the rest, and join the Nawab's forces and raise contributions, consistently with the Nawab's desire. Subsequently he wrote to the Nawab (30th September, 11th October) that he had actually ordered a diversion into the Arcot country in order to draw off the enemy from Trichinopoly. Clive embarked with 130 men from Fort St. David for Madras on August 22-September 2. He got a reinforcement of 80 men at Madras and proceeded to Arcot on August 26-September 6, with a body of 200 Europeans and 300 sepoys and 8 officers and 3 field pieces. Passing on through Conjeevaram, the force reached the neighbourhood of Arcot on August 31st-September 11; and they took possession of the Fort the next day; hoisting both the English colours and Muhammad Ali's flag.

before Trichinopoly. The two sons of Bangaru Yachama Nayak of Venkatagiri, whose *vakils* were at Pondicherry soliciting Dupleix's favour, were written to immediately to send troops for the help of Polur Muhammad Ali Khan. The latter wrote to Dupleix to say that when the English troops at Arcot marched against the neighbouring fort of Timiri, he sent a small body of troops belonging to Murtaza Ali Khan of Vellore and repulsed them;¹⁷ and that with reinforcements he could easily drive the enemy out of the Arcot *Killa*. Murtaza Ali Khan was of the same opinion and demanded reinforcements before the enemy could strengthen himself. It was however Dupleix alone that immediately realised the seriousness of the event; he became greatly put out and urgently wrote to Chanda Sahib who had already despatched 1,000 horsemen, should write to his son, Raza Sahib, to march at once to Arcot with another body of 1,000 horse; and that Chanda Sahib himself should immediately cross the Kaveri and deliver an assault on Trichinopoly.

Nawab Muhammad Ali rightly cautioned Governor Saunders to urge Clive and Muhammad Hamid to fortify Arcot and endeavour to get in provisions and also to send reinforcements to Arcot from Madras and Fort St. David. The English and the Nawab's troops were very deficient in cavalry; their sallies could not be effective, nor protracted and Clive's assault on Timiri was unsuccessful (17th September). A week later, the reinforced enemy took up a stand within 3 miles of Arcot and then Clive could only make a feeble attack upon him. The latter seized the big pagoda of Conjeevaram; and Clive had to use great skill in conveying safely the two eighteen pounders that were sent to him from Madras. Raza Sahib finally began the famous siege of Arcot which lasted from the 4th October to the 25th November. Even when the siege was raised after the failure of a final attack, Governor Saunders did not seem to rate much the undisturbed possession of Arcot and the neighbouring

17. This has a reference to Clive's first movement against Timiri on September 15th, when according to Orme, the English marched out to meet the fugitive Arcot Garrison of 600 horse and 500 foot drawn up near Timiri and forced them to retreat to the hills in their rear.

forts of Timiri and Kaveripak, as in his opinion "it will only weaken our small force greatly to leave men in them."

Conclusion.

Thus it will be seen that the credit for the initiative of the idea of diversion to Arcot should go in a very large measure to Nawab Muhammad Ali whose repeated urgings opened Governor Saundar's eyes to the possibilities of success attendant on the plan, while Clive eagerly took advantage of the opening offered by it and persuaded Saunders that he could do it, when Gingen doubted his own capacity for the task.

A MINIATURE PAINTING OF SHAH JAHAN'S VISIT TO THE SAINT MIAN MIR IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM COLLECTION.

BY

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Amongst the most fascinating of Mughal miniature paintings are those few, which deal with the private life of the emperors and the simple scenes in the lives of the poor. One such is reproduced here. This exquisite miniature, No. 1920-9-17-035, album V, is in the collection of Indian drawings in the British Museum. It is believed to represent Shah Jahan on a visit to the saint Mian Mir in his hermitage. Divested of imperial splendour and dignity, the emperor is squatting on a carpet spread on the ground, facing the pale ascetic grown grey with age. The emperor's face is a perfect expression of his reverential interest in the aged saint. The two are raising their hands in prayer in common with the majority of those present. Except in the hermitage of a universally revered saint, it is difficult to imagine a crowd of such a mixed character. We see in the picture the richly clad emperor and the four princes, his sons, with their gorgeous jewels and ropes of beautiful pearls sitting alongside the scantily clad ascetic disciples of the saint, one of these latter having nothing on his body but a loin cord. The homeliness of the scene is intensified by the inclusion of utensils in the picture. The two covered earthen vessels containing water, which are ever a domestic necessity in a hot climate are mounted on a common stool. One of the ascetics, quite unconcerned with the presence of the mighty, is seen handing over a piece of cloth, evidently a loin cloth to the other sitting on the ground, to be washed in a basin full of water, which is placed in front of him. Others in the picture include a courtier, and two attendants with flyslaps, one standing behind the emperor and the other, evidently a devotee, standing behind the

Shah Jehan visits Mian Mir. (Br. Museum)



saint. In the outer courtyard are three more attendants and a richly caparisoned horse.

In the dignified simplicity of the scene it portrays, the miniature stands in strong contrast to the other lavishly painted pictures of the magnificent scenes at the court. In order to heighten the solemnity of the occasion the use of colours in the picture is avoided, and we are enabled thereby to appreciate with delight the extreme delicacy of outline, which is its outstanding merit. The spirit which pervades the picture, is characteristically Indian. The ideal simplicity of the saint's life in a quiet corner of the Indian world is successfully brought out by the artist.

Shah Jahan visited Mian Mir at Lahore only twice. The saint died a few months after the last visit¹. He ranked amongst the greatest religious thinkers of his time. He left his home Sehwan to live in seclusion at Lahore, and spent forty years of his life in deep contemplation and prayers. His influence on his contemporaries, from the emperor down to the meanest man, was extraordinary and was exercised wholly for the good. He went blind in the last days of his life, and died in 1635².

Salih's account³ of Shah Jahan's last visit to Mian Mir on December 29, 1634, would appear to be a scrupulously correct description of the picture reproduced here, and lends to it a historical interest all its own. He states that the emperor attended by his four sons and one or two others paid a complimentary visit to the renowned saint, who, after a short conversation on spiritual topics, gave him wise counsel, which he took to heart. The interview began and ended with prayers or the recital of the Fateha⁴; that is the first Surah of the Koran.

1. Abdul Hamid Lahori: *Padshah Namsha*. Bib. Ind. version. vol. I, B, PP. 330-331.

2. Ibid. PP. 12, 65, 329-331. Mohammed Salih Kambu: *Amal-i-Salih*. Bib. Ind. version. PP. 683-684. The history of the saint's life has been told by the Prince Dara Shikoh, who was one of the emperor's suite on the occasion of this visit, in the *Sakinat-ul-auliya*. See British Museum MS. Or. 223.

3. Mohammed Salih Kambu: *Amal-i-Salih*. British Museum MS. Add. 26221. Fols. 315b-316. See also Lahori. vol. I, B, P. 65.

4. The Fateha is recited with hands raised, as is shown in the picture.

A NOTE ON THE ANTIQUITY OF INDORE.

BY

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The present capital of the dominions of His Highness the Maharaja Holkar is called Indore. In Marathi it is called Indur. The late Col. C. E. Luard, C. I. E. derived the name from Indrapur, obtaining support to his theory from the temple of Indreshwar, founded by one Indargir. As a matter of fact the origin of the name enshrines ancient history.

In the period from the fall of the Mauryan Empire to the foundation of the Gupta Empire in Northern and Central India, history lacks many details. It appears from the evidence available that that part of Central India, which formed a Governorship of the Mauryan Empire with its capital at Avanti, or Ujjayani, was, at its fall, over-run by tribes from the North and that about the beginning of the Christian era, a hero arose among them who defeated the Scythians or Shakas, somewhere in the North. This last-named fact is not universally admitted, although it is admitted that inspite of their defeat, the Scythians overran this part of the country until their incursions to the South of the Narbada were not only stemmed by the Satavahanas but they were dislodged from their position in the North. It is claimed that one of the tribes that preceded the Scythians founded Indur.

Among the countries, or nations, enumerated in Chapter 9 of Bhishma Parva, in the Mahabharat, these are mentioned as in the North or North-west of India, tribes called Malavanarah and again in Sabha Parva among the conquests of Sahadeva, Malava. A much later inscription mentions a method of calculating an era as by means of the calculation of the Malavaganas. The same places in the work also contains the names of Avantyah and Avantya respectively. The Brihatsamhita of Varahamihira mentions Malava in the North and Avantak in the South, taking the middle lands, i. e. the Kurakshetra, as the centre for the purposes of enumeration, as is the case with the Mahabharat and

Ramayan as well. The Brihatsamhita also mentions Audumbara in the North-west. The Mababharat seems to have ignored it as a small tribe.

There are the remains of a Scythian camp about six miles south of Indore on a plateau. Before they came, or after them, came the Malava Naraha, and their neighbours Audumbaras and settled in Avantak, changing its name to Malava. The former appears to have been a bigger tribe, which directed its attention to the capital city of Ujjain, while the latter, who along with the former were included in the common name Audichyas, i. e. the Northerners, settled in Malava as well as penetrated into the South as far as the banks of the Godavari and the Krishna rivers in the Maharashtra. They gave their names to different places. There is one Audumbara on the banks of the Krishna in Satara District. There is another Audumbarn-Vardhan, converted into Indur-Bodhan (now known as Nizamabad) on the banks of the Godavari, in the Nizam's dominions. The word Audumbara changed into Oodumbara, Oondar, Oondari, Indur, Induri, etc. places of which name are found scattered in the Maharashtra.

In Malava their principal settlement, even now known as Indur, was on the peninsula made by the confluence of two rivers, which in reminiscences of their home in the Punjab, were given the names of Saraswati and Chandrabhaga, an ancient name of the Chenab. No less an authority on town planning than the late Dr. Sir Patric Geddes has recorded as his opinion that the scene of this confluence rivals any in the world.

Sometime ago a little excavation in the peninsula made by Professor Johory of the local Christian College brought to light an image of Budha of the pre-Christian era. This Indur or the new capital of the Holkar's or rather the headquarters of the army of the state in the reign of Maharani Akelyabai, owing to her piety and partiality for the place secured the name of Indrapur in a Sanskrit work in her praise. But it cannot be the original name. That it so richly deserves it is another matter.

"KHWĀJA-I JAHĀN MĀHMUD GĀWĀN'S CAMPAIGNS IN THE MĀHĀRĀSHTRA."

(From New Sources)

BY

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Introduction.

Khwāja-i Jahān Mahmūd is one of the greatest ministers who ever figured in Indian history, and one who eclipses nearly everyone of his contemporaries in the Deccan. Born at Qāwān or Gāwān in the kingdom of Gilān on the shores of the Caspian Sea in 1405, he came to India in 1455, landing at Dābhōl¹ and making his way to Bidar, then the metropolis of the Bahmanī kingdom of the Deccan and one of the most renowned cities of India. This kingdom was then ruled by 'Alā'u'd-din II (1434-1457), and it redounds to the credit of this monarch that he immediately saw the worth of this 'āfāqī'² and gave him an honoured place in his court. Mahmūd had not long to wait and had soon to show his mettle both as a general and a tactful politician in the campaign against the rebel brother-in-law of the King, Jalāl Khān, in 1456. He made such an impression

1. Now in the Ratnāgiri district.

2. The inhabitants of the Deccan divided themselves into (1). Dakhnī including, besides the original inhabitants of the land, those who had been living in the country for some time, as well as the negros and negroid, or 'habashīs'; (2). the Āfāqī or 'Cosmopolitans,' consisting mainly of fresh immigrants from Persia, central Asia and northern India who had come either at the invitation of the King or else as adventurers, and generally ended their lives in the service of their adopted land Vide, Briggs' *Ferishtah*. The word 'Āfāqī' should not be translated as 'foreigner' (as Sir W. Haig has done in the Camb. Hist. of India, Vol. III, chas. 15 and 16) as most of these Āfāqīs had made the Deccan their home and belonged to the same category as the Normans of Henry II, the Franks of Hugh Capet and the Turks of Soleyman the Magnificent.

on the King that it is said that just before his death he admonished his successor, Humāyūn, to make use of the best qualities of the rising courtier.

On his accession Humāyūn, who reigned barely three years (1457-1460), created Mahmūd Malikut-tujjār ('Merchant King'), a highly honoured title in the Deccan, and one which shows that at least in the fifteenth century Indians were not ashamed to enter trade and other professions. During Humāyūn's short reign the Malik did not have much opportunity of showing his worth, as he was all along fighting Hasan Khān, son of Jalāl Khān in the Tilangānah. It was really during the short reign of Nizām Shāh (1460-1462) and again that of Muhammād Shāh (1462-1482) that he rose to almost unprecedented heights, extended the kingdom from sea to sea and at last fell a victim of party jealousy and royal ungratefulness.

Mahmūd excelled as a soldier, as a diplomat and as an administrator—in all the three walks of life in only one of which it is generally the fortune of public men to enter and perhaps to excel. During the days of Nizām and in the early days of Muhammād, he was ably supported by that great woman, Āghā Nargis Bēgam, surnamed Malikah Makhdūma-i Jahān, Flīz's³ daughter and Humāyūn's widow, a woman of great administrative talent, and now as nearly forgotten as her protégé, Mahmūd Gāwān. Nizām's short reign saw the invasion of Mahmūd Khiljī of Mālwah⁴ who swept over the Bahmanī kingdom, even taking possession of the city of Bīdar, and it was mainly due to the diplomacy and series of alliances brought about by Mahmūd Gāwān that the invaders had to quit the country leaving it free as before.⁵

3. 1397-1492.

4. 1436-1469.

5. Apart from the letters to the Kings of Gujrāt and Jāunpūr given *in extenso* in the *Burhānu'l-ma'āthir* (MSS. Add. 198, Camb. Univ.), we have a number of diplomatic letters to these as well to the rulers and administrators of Turkey, Persia, Hirāt etc. in the remarkable collection of the Khwājāb's letters called the *Riādhū'l-Insbā* (Āsīfiyah Libr., Insbā-I fārsī, 148), written from his office as well as from the camp. I hope some day to write a paper on the Khwājāb's diplomatic correspondence.

On Nizam's sudden death the Dowager Queen created Mahmūd 'Jumlatu'l-Mulk' ('the Totality of the Country') and Waziru'l-kul ('Minister of All'), and as the king was a minor she began to rule the kingdom herself as a regent with the help of Mahmūd and of another minister, Khwāja-i Jahān-Turk. After the latter's murder in open court Mahmūd was himself created Khwāja-i Jahān, and it is by this title that he was henceforth to be known to his contemporaries, although a number of other high-sounding titles were showered upon him as time passed by. He undertook a three years' campaign and another short campaign in the Mahārāshtra, a detailed account of which is given below, and the King was so pleased with his successes that he was further favoured by even higher-sounding titles.

Except for a punitive expedition in the Tilangānah which he undertook along with his master, and the final expedition (also in Muhammad Shāh's company) against the Oriyas, which cost him his head, the last days of his life were taken up by his great administrative and military reforms, which purported to separate the civil from the military government of the provinces, institute regular pay of the soldiers and cripple the power of the governors. He was also the founder of the great College and library at Bidar, the building of which is still the wonder of the Deccan. In the meantime, Mahmud's patroness, the Dowager Queen was dead, and his administrative reforms as well as the height which he had reached sowed a seed of opposition and jealousy which cost him his life. He was beheaded on the 14th of April 1481 at the age of 76 solar years, and lies buried a few furlongs from the city of his greatness.⁶

6. I considered it necessary to preface this paper by an introduction because, in spite of his greatness, Mahmūd Gāwāp's work and even his name are so little known, and I am not aware of a single book in English which brings out the great man that he was. There are, no doubt, one or two small brochures on his life in Urdu, but they are, at best, devoid of any references, and are, generally superficial in their treatment. It is time that a regular monograph be prepared on the subject, bringing out the minister's military and administrative traits to the best advantage.

1. Our present knowledge of the Mahārāshtra campaigns.

Our present knowledge of the Khwājah's campaigns in the Mahārāshtra is to a large extent derived from Muhammad Qissim Farishtah's monumental history of India which was completed at Bijapur in the time of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II (1579-1626) more than a hundred years after these campaigns. He refers to a number of chronicles and histories then available, such as Bahman Nāmah, Sirāju't-tawārikh, Tuhfatu's-salātin, etc., most of which have been lost to us. I need not give Farishtah's account of the campaigns as they are well-known either through the Persian edition or through its abridged English translation by Briggs or the Urdu translation recently published by the Osmania University. Briefly what the Farishtah says comes to this:—

It was in 874 H. that Mahmūd Gāwān started to punish the Rāi of Khēlna ('Khēna')⁷ with the army of Junāl and the surrounding districts, partly in order to punish him for the piratical raids committed on the high seas on Muslim merchants. The Rāi and his confederates closed the Ghāts against the royal army, while on the other hand Mahmūd found that a large part of the army sent for his help was useless, and he sent it back, relying mainly on the army of Junāl under As'ad Khān Gilānī. He burned the thick woods which lay before him and laid seige to Khēlna which went on for five months, at the end of which he had to retire to Kōlbāpūr as the rains had set in. It took him a whole year to subdue Khēlna as well as the other forts in the vicinity, after which he marched to Sangarnēshwar ('Singesār') which he conquered comparatively easily. He then moved to Goa and effected its conquest by the co-operation of land and sea forces.

The next year, 877 H., it was reported that Perkētah,⁸ Rāi of Belgam, was thinking of marching to Goa and taking possession of it by force of arms. So Mahmūd, along with the Sultān, marched to Bēlgām, which was finally subdued by the levelling

of the moat under cover of special walls and battlements built to shield workers and soldiers, and then mining the ramparts with gunpowder, thus effecting breaches in the walls. The Sultān was so proud of this venture that he assumed the title of 'Lashkari', a title by which he was always known hereafter.

2. The account in the *Burhān'l-ma'āthir*.

So much for Farishtah. Through the kindness of Mr. S. Hashimi, Assistant Home Secretary, H. E. H. the Nizam's government, I have been fortunate enough to be able to consult a photoscript of the *Burhān* (MSS. Add. Camb Univ., 198), a book which was compiled a few years before Farishtah in 1009 H/1600 C, and which gives further details of the two campaigns. I would here give the account practically *in extenso*, specially such as fills the gaps left over by Farishtah:—¹⁰

(Leaf 86) First campaign:

When the Sultān expressed the desire that the Konkan should be effectively subdued, Mahmūd Gāwān begged that if he were given the honour of being deputed, he would get all the ports evacuated by the recalcitrants and there would be no further fear of any danger from that quarter. On receiving orders from the King the Khwājah first went to Kōlhāpur ('Kālāpur') and began to gather forces. He was joined by As'ad Khān from Junāir and Chākana and by Kishwar Khān from Dābhōl and 'Karmahir'.¹¹ When a sufficient force had gathered together he began to march forward. But he found that the rebels had hidden themselves in a thick jungle which lay in front, and the Khwājah lost no time in ordering that it should be cut down and burned. It seems that there was a great unity of purpose among the rebels, as it is said that they gave 'fifty battles' to the Deccan army, showing that they must have had recourse to guerilla warfare. These tactics went on till the rainy season when the Khwājah had to retrace his steps back to Kōlhāpur.

10. The *Burhān* has been partly translated by King (History of the Bahmanī dynasty) and by Haig (Ind. Ant., 1920/23), but these translations are not complete, and unfortunately I have not been able to consult them. The translation of the portions of the *Burhān* given here is not literal but is only a free rendering of the purport of the pieces.

11. Karhād, in the Satara district.

At the end of the rains he again marched forward. Evidently the enemy had retreated to the hill-forts which abound in the neighbourhood. He first conquered Rāngna ('Rāingnah'),¹² then going to Māchāl¹³ which proved an easy prey. After this he faced the great fort of Sangamēshwar "which was second only to Junāir", (leaf 87) where his predecessor Khalaf Hasan Basīrī had been martyred (in 1446). The great army which had encamped outside the walls completely frightened the Rāī and he begged for peace. The fort of Khēlna as well as other forts of the neighbourhood were reduced in the two years' campaign which followed, these including the port of Goa.

(Leaf 90) Second campaign:—

When the King heard from the Khwājah that the accursed Perketah wanted to raise an insurrection and had invaded the island of Goa, and that the Khwājah again wanted to be deputed to suppress the insurrection, His Majesty decided to command the expedition in his own royal person. He caused such a large army to be collected at Bidar that its soldiers numbered "more than the drops of water in the rainy season and the particles of sand in the desert." The army went direct to Bēlgām, "a fort which is prominent in the Deccan by its great strength and solidarity and which, from its foundation to its battlements, is built of stone and is surrounded by a deep moat full of water". The King ordered that the walls of great strength should be built of the same height as those of the fort and that the battlement and the enclosure should be captured by means of cannon, guns, catapults and other instruments of war. On seeing the great dread of his people, Perketah had recourse to a strategem. He sent emissaries to the leaders of the besieging army and lords of the realm accompanying the Bahmani King and offered them bribes so that they might prevail on the Sultān to raise the seige. The lords of the court, with one voice, interceded in favour of Perketah. On this the Sultān smiled and asked the reason why Perketah had raised up arms against the royal authority, and expressed the intention of making this case a lesson for others intending to raise up arms against him. His

12. In the present state of Sāwanīwādi.

13. In the Rājāpūr sub-division of the Kōlhāpūr State.

Majesty himself rode to the fighting line and encouraged the soldiers in their work. On seeing no further hope Perkētāh sent his own sons to the King and himself stood with a rope round his neck on one of the battlements. The King, thereupon, took pity on him and forgave him all his faults, while, as the Khwājah had been his adviser all along, he gave the fort over to him. On his way back to Bidar at the end of the campaign, His Majesty stopped a few days at Bijāpūr (the capital of the governorate of Mahmūd Gāwāñ).

3. Historical material in the Khwājah's letters.

I have had an opportunity of reading through Mahmūd Gāwāñ's letters collected by himself and named Riādhul-Insha or 'The Garden of Diction, some of which purport to have been written by him from the actual battlefields of the Mahārāshtra, giving a detailed account of the purpose, strategy, objectives and mental repercussions of the great Bahmani minister, sometimes containing actual dates and months of the capture of various forts. They are thus of great value to every student of history who wishes to reconstruct events in the Deccan in the fifteenth century.¹⁴ The letters are couched in the highly ornate style then in vogue among men of learning, full of similes and metaphors, interspersed with poems, qasīdahs and ghazals, and containing a remarkable amount of quotations and extracts from the Qur'ān, the Hadith and numerous Arabic and Persian poets and writers. They go to show the great command of the Khwājah, himself no mean *littérateur*, on the current literature of the period, and it is no wonder that the book has so long been regarded by those few who might have read it, more as a work on Persian diction than as a treasury of the psychological reverberations of a great maker of history. Within the short space at our disposal, however, it would not serve our purpose to give a verbal translation of any of these letters in extenso, but we will content ourselves with a reference to broad historical facts about the campaigns in the Mahārāshtra couched in them, and we will do so in the order in which they are placed in the work.

af Le57. Informs 'a minister' that he would be at Sangamēshwar by the 1st of Jamādiu'l-ākhir¹⁵ and would take with him the ships which were at Jiūl¹⁶ and Dābhōl ('Dābūl') along with experienced men. (58).

L. 60, b. To 'Amīdu'l-mulk... It should be known that the conquest of Rāngna ('Rainknah') is really a prelude to the subjugation of the fort of Khēlna and is really the key to all the Malabar forts. Hopes that the fort of Goa would be subdued towards the end of the month and friends' hearts would rejoice.

Leaf 61. To Maulānā Abū Sa'id. (L. 61 b.) The fort of Rāngnah was so strong that it was regarded as well-nigh impossible to capture it by force of arms, and evidently recourse was had to different tactics, the fort finally falling on the 20th of Muḥarram.¹⁷ It is related how the leaders of the army of Jakhūrai opposed any further struggle and the Rāi was forced to sue for peace, so that the man who was so hot-headed and proud had to beg to be pardoned for his sins. (62) The Khwājah says that he has made their minds that the fort of Khēlna would be conquered in the month of Rabi'u'l-awwal.¹⁸

Leaf 72 b. To Maulānā Jāmī, (73 b.) Says that he is writing from his camp at Sangamēshwar ('Sangesar') which had not been conquered by the greatest of the Sultāns but was going to be subdued soon, with the result that the land and sea travellers would be rid of the fear of piratical and other raids on the part of the enemy.

Leaf 76 b. Tells the Sultān of Gilān that Sangamēshwar was conquered after Rāngnah on the 1st of Rajab¹⁹ when the Rāi laid down his arms and sent his own son to sue for peace. Hopes that very soon Vijyānagar ('Bijaynagar'), the real cause of all mischief, would have to accept the Sultān's suzerainty. (78 b.) Says that 108 four-sailed boats and a large army were

15. 27th November, 1470.

16. Chāul in the present Kōlābab district.

17. 19th July, 1470.

18. 23th August to 27th September 1470.

19. 26th December 1470.

despatched to Goa, which also opened its gates on the 20th. of Sha'bān.²⁰

Leaf 79. To Maulānā Jāmī. The enemy had gathered together hoards of men and money in five of his forts which were of great height and strength, and it was well-nigh impossible to take them. It was under cover of these forts that the Rāi committed all sorts of crimes and misdeeds against travellers and merchants sending nearly three thousand²¹ boats of all descriptions to the ports. This Rāi was overpowered on the 1st of Rajab.¹⁹ Not only that, but the island of Goa, a great port belonging to Vijyānagar and one of the greatest ports of the land, full of the most beautiful landscapes and fine products, and of the greatest fertility, had also been joined to the realm of Islām, thus becoming a centre of learning and erudition.

Leaf 83. To Maulānā Kamālu'd-din Rūmī. Tells him that he came to Sangamēshwar in order to rid the country of disturbances and civil disorder and to establish a reign of peace. The enemy were harassing travellers both on land and on sea and had constructed the strongest defences imaginable. These fortresses, the conquest of which had been the dream of the rulers of the Deccan, had now been subdued.

Leaf 86 b. To one of the Bahmani ministers. (87) Tells him that when he heard of the pride of the Rāi and saw the great height of the hills and the extent of the forests as well as the numbers in the army and co-operation among the officers, he came to the conclusion that the conquest of the place required the utmost bravery and the greatest organization and that it was really impossible without opening out purse strings and gathering together a large army. Moreover the conquest of the country was dependent on the knowledge of the routes of hills and plains as well as on the persuasion of the leaders of the opposing camp. About the same time the island of Goa, 'which was the envy of the islands of India' and well-known for its fertility, its copra trees, sugar-cane, betel-leaf, betel-nut, was conquered

20 11th February, 1471.

21. Thus in the Risādh. This is evidently 300, as in Ferishtah. Vide Briggs, III. 84.

by the ever victorious army, and As'ad Khān together with Kishwar Khān were waiting there for the main forces. It was now 14 farsakhs²² from Rāngnā to Goa.

Leaf 88. To a minister. Tells him plainly that it was futile to rely on the help of any of the rulers of the land, and if one did so, it was bound to end only in repentance and regret. Complains of the small help given to him throughout his campaign and informs him that the fort of Khēlnā will fall soon.

Leaf 89. To a friend, from the camp at Sangamēshwar. Hopes that the army would soon capture the fort of Khēlnā, and although a siege requires a lot of patience it was impossible to capture the fort by a straight fight.

Leaf 91. To someone in Gujrāt, from the camp. Tells him that the fort of Rāngnā was the key to the Malabar fort and that it was conquered in the previous year, and the royal armies had taken possession of Māchāl, Bāiwārah, Mariād and Nagar, the homes of the allies of our enemy.

Leaf 104. To Sultān Muḥammad Gilānī, from the camp in the Vijyānagar territory in the beginning of Ramadān.²³ Tells him that the previous year some of the ports and forts of the enemy had been annexed.

Leaf 113 b. To a friend. Tells him that he was with a part of the army, while the rest of the army had been sent to the Goa country under As'ad Khān. (114) Moreover, as some ill-wishers had enraged the Sultān, it was necessary that he should hurry up and join His Majesty.

We can well see that these letters (only very short extracts of which have been given here) are remarkable in that they

(1) Attach the correct importance to the forts situated in the vicinity of Goa;

(2) They are evidently written with the feelings of the man who was himself responsible for the campaign, with all his

22. 42 miles.

23. End of February and beginning of March, 1471.

enthusiasm, his discontent with certain arrangements and with all the detail so dear to him;

(3) Most of the facts are repeated to different persons, so that we might be pretty sure of their contents;

(4) They sometimes give the actual dates and months of the actions, and as we are aware of the years from other sources, we can reconstruct the story with a certain amount of detail otherwise not obtainable.

4. Reconstruction of the episodes.

With the help of the authorities mentioned above we will, now attempt to draw a faithful picture of the Khwājah's campaigns in the Mahārāshtra.

First campaign; Khēlna-Sangamēshwar-Goa; 873 H. I. 1469-875 H. I 1471 C.

The states in the Konkan had really been made protectorates of the Bahmani kingdom in 840 H. | 1436 C.,²⁴ but there had been no effective occupation of the country; it seems that the Rāi of the district had recourse to robbery and piratical raids, and as the merchants were afraid to take their ware out there was a big drop in the commerce of the land.²⁵

In the beginning of 874/1469 Sultān Muhammād Shāh expresses a desire that the Konkan should be effectively subdued and the Khwājah begs that if he is given the honour of being deputed he would get all the ports evacuated by the recalcitrant party, so that there would be no further danger from that quarter. On receiving orders from the King, he proceeds to Kōlhāpūr and makes that city his headquarters.²⁶ He sends for the forces from Junāir, Chākan, Kōlhār, Dābhōl, Chaūl, Wāi and Mān,²⁷ among them being the army of As'ad Khān from Junāir and Chākan and of Kishwar Khan from Dābhōl and Karhād.²⁸ When sufficient forces have been gathered to

24. Briggs, *Farishtah*, III, 424.

25. Rīḍhu 'I-Inshā, 79, 83.

26. Burhānu 'I-ma 'Athrī, 86.

27. Wāi and Mān, in the present Satārī district.

28. R. I., 61.

ther, he begins to march forward with Rāngna (which is 42 miles from Goa) as his objective. Jākhū Rāi of Rāngna is very hotheaded and proud,²⁹ his army numerous and disciplined, his fort the key to all the forts of Malabar,³⁰ surrounded by the retreats of Māchāl, Bāiwārah, Mariād and Nagar.³¹ The rebels have allied with one another³² to oppose the Rāi's troops and part of the army has hidden itself in a thick jungle which lies in front.³³ The Khwājah loses no time in getting the jungle to be cut down and burned.³⁴ The enemy has recourse to guerilla tactics and gives 'fifty battles' to the Deccan army.³⁵ He is engaged for five months in fighting the enemy³⁶ and only retires to the Headquarters on the advent of the rainy season, when stationing ten thousand infantry,³⁷ he spends the season in thatched houses at Kolhapur.³⁸ It is about this time that he conquers Ramgarh³⁹.

When the rains have subsided, he again marches forward and finds that the enemy has retreated to the hill forts which abound in the neighbourhood⁴⁰. Thinking that the cavalry would be useless at such a juncture, he sends it back and has to rely henceforward mainly on As'adkhān's infantry, specially as no further help is forthcoming from the capital, of which he sorely complains in his official letters⁴¹. The strength of Rāngna as well as the paucity in the number of soldiers at his disposal prevents him from having a straight fight with the enemy, and he has to have recourse to s'rategems leading to the persuasion of

29. Briggs calls him 'Shankar Rāi', evidently a misreading for 'Sangēśar' or Sanganēshwar

30. R. I., 60,90

31. *Ibid.*, 91.

32. B. F. 484.

33. Bur., 86

34. Bur., 86

35. Bur., 86.

36. B. F., 484.

37. *Ibid.*

38. Bur., 86.

39. B. F., 484. Ramgarh is in the Ratnagiri district between *Elgaz* and Kolhapur.

40. Bur., 86.

41. R. I., 83.

the commanders of the opposing army to side with him. At last the Rāī, is forced to sue for peace, finally laying down his arms on the 20th. of Muḥarram, 875 (July 19, 1470)⁴², followed by the capitulation of the outposts mentioned above⁴³.

After the rainy season (of 1470) the Khwājah comes face to face with the great fort of Sangameshwar 'second only to Junāir'⁴⁴, where his predecessor in service, Khalaf Hasan Basri, was martyred in 1446. The army encamped outside the walls of the fort, so thoroughly frightens the Rāī that he sends his own son to make peace with the commander of the royal army, and Sangameshwar opens its gates to the Khwājah on the 1st. of Rajab (26th December, 1470)⁴⁵. The fort of Khelna is also taken about the same time⁴⁶.

The Khwājah has already sent 108 four-sailed vessels and a large army under As'ad Khan in advance to Goa⁴⁷. This is a direct incursion into Vijyānagar territory and is evidently taken up because the Rāya of Vijyānagar⁴⁸ has been the real cause of the rebellious attitude of the Bahmani protectorate⁴⁹. Only a feeble resistance is offered at Goa, so that the 'greatest port of the land' and 'the envy of the islands of India' is captured and annexed to the Kingdom on the 20th. of Shāban (11th February, 1471)⁵⁰.

Second campaign: Belgām⁵¹—1472.

The Khwājah informs the king that Perketah of Belgām and the Chief of Bankāpur⁵² want to raise an insurrection and

42. *Ibid.*, 62.

43. *Ibid.*, 91.

44. Bur., 86.

45. R. I., 67.

46. R. I., 76; but B. F. has 20, though 'bist' (20) might be a misreading for 'hesht' (8).

47. Viṭupakhsha Rāya.

48. R. I., 76.

49. R. I., 76.

50. *Ibid.*, 76, 86.

51. The letters in the Riādh. do not mention this campaign, and the account is taken from the Barhā, 90-92, and Farishtah.

52. At present a taluq in Dhārwar district.

invade Goa, and offers to lead the expedition himself; His Majesty, however, decides to command the expedition in person and orders a vast army to be collected at the capital. Immediately when everything is ready he marches direct to Belgām, a fortress of great strength, surrounded by a deep moat full of water. Besieging the place, he orders the Khwājah that the moat should be filled with rabble and wood in order to facilitate the entry of the royal army when time comes; but the Khwājah's work to that end in the day is frustrated by the Rāi's men during the night, as they clear the moat of rabble under cover of darkness day after day. On this the whole strategy is changed, and mines are laid under the walls of the fort under cover of new walls erected parallel to the former, and as this laying of mines is entirely a new thing in the Deccan, the Rāi is not aware of the significance of the new walls being erected. Anyhow, three mines, those from the posts of the Khwājah, Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān and Fathu'l-lāh 'Imādu'l-mulk burst open the wall and breaches were effected. In the meantime the Rāi had prevailed upon certain leaders of the royal court to intercede with the King on his behalf, but the King wants to make this a lesson for others and continues the attack, himself riding to the front line to lead the onslaught and encourage the soldiers to do their work. There is a terrible slaughter on both sides, but the King drives the enemy before him and gains the ramparts. At last the Rāi sends one of his sons to the King and himself stands with a rope round his neck on one of the battlements.⁵³ Muḥammad takes pity on him, forgives him and admits him to a dignified place at his court, giving over Belgām to the Khwājah who has been his constant adviser. On the way back the whole army is steeped in grief over the death of the Dowager Queen who had accompanied his beloved son on this arduous campaign. Her coffin is sent to be buried at Bidar, while the King breaks his journey for a few days at Bijāpūr, the capital of the Khwājah's governorate.

53. Thus in *Burhān*, 92. *Farishtah*, however, gives a different story, that the Rāi presented himself in disguise along with his sons.

EARLY BRITISH RELATIONS WITH THE PESHWA'S DURBAR AT POONA

BY

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The invasion of Nadir Shah sent a thrill of horror throughout Northern India. Taking advantage of the unsettled state of the country several foreign adventurers and ambitious Indian Chiefs and generals tried to push forward their respective interests. The British, who had not yet entered upon their glorious career of establishing an empire in India but were engaged in the peaceful occupation of trade, now took the opportunity of extending their Bengal trade into the "Land of the Peshwas." Fortune helped them, and we find from the records,¹ which are in the custody of the Imperial Record Department, that under the shadow of the terrible calamity which beset India in 1739, the British succeeded in establishing for the first time commercial relations with the Peshwas of Poona in that year. A treaty was drawn up in Bassein between the British and the Peshwa's Governments in the month of July 1739. In this transaction Captain Inchbird acted as a plenipotentiary of the Hon'ble Stephen Law, Governor of Bombay, and Chimnaji Appa acted for Baji Rao Pandit Pradhan, the then reigning Peshwa of Poona. We find from the papers² which contain the terms of this commercial treaty that iron, lead, brimstone, saltpetre, dammer, sail cloth and coir formed the chief Anglo-Mahratta trading commodities in the first half of the eighteenth century and the rivers, Nagotam, Penn and Bancote formed the main waterways for carrying the aforesaid articles.

As the above-mentioned treaty forms the basis of the earliest British-Mahratta relations, some of its chief terms will, I have

1 Public O. C. 22 April 1789 no. 25 (very interesting document).

2 Public O. C. 32 April 1789 no. 25 (very interesting document).

no doubt, prove interesting to the students of the Indian History :—

"(i) The English will grant free license for the export of all goods and commodities whatever for the service of Bajirow and a free trade to the merchants of his country in all sorts they may want, as iron, lead, brimstone, salt-petre, dammer, tar, sail-cloth, coir and others excepting artillery balls, powder and shells, they paying the customary duties. Such things as have not before been used to pay export duty shall continue free of any as before. In like manner Bajirow shall permit the English and their merchants the free trade of his country and the liberty of export of goods and provisions, paying the customs."

"(ii) The English will give no let or molestation to the merchant vessels laden with goods of the merchants under Bajirow's jurisdiction passing to and from the rivers Nagotam, Penn and other ports; but in case of any of the said vessels importing at Bombay and landing their effects, they shall pay the port duties."

"(iii) The merchant vessels belonging to the English and their subjects shall have free leave to purchase in the rivers Nagotam, Penn and other places, provisions and all sorts of merchandise and export the same, paying the customs and on the part of Bajirow there shall be no impediment."

Seventeen years after the conclusion of the Treaty of Bassein, another treaty for the protection of each other's commercial rights and privileges was found imperative. On the 12th October 1756, Governor Bourchier concluded another treaty with the Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao Pandit Pradhan. For the terms of this treaty the students are referred to the records.³ One important point which is gleaned from this treaty is that "the Dutch were also trading with the Peshwa's Government and the town of Rajipore was the chief entrepot for loading and unloading their trading goods."

Five years after the conclusion of the second commercial treaty, another treaty was found essential by the British Company

to extend protection to the merchants who were trading under them from the unjust and illegal interference of the Mahratta officials. This new treaty was concluded between Governor Crommelin and the Peshwa Madhu Rao Balaji Pandit Pradhan on the 14th September 1761. This year was disastrous to the Mahrattas, as only eight months before their rising power in India received a crushing blow by the combined armies of the Afghans and the Mughals on the field of Panipat.

It is unfortunate that the aforesaid commercial amity between the English and the Mahrattas got a temporary set back by the out break of the First Mahratta war (1779-81). But on the conclusion of this war, another treaty was signed between the British and the Peshwa's Governments at Salbai in May 1782. Mr. David Anderson acted for the former and Mahadji Sindhia for the latter. The most important term of the present treaty was that "The Peshwa hereby engages that he will not suffer any factories of other European nations to be established in his territories other than those of the Chiefs dependent on him excepting only such as are already established by the Portuguese and he will hold no intercourse of friendship with any other European nation, and the English on their part agree that they will not afford assistance to any nations of the Deccan or Hindustan at enmity with the Peshwa".

Encouraged by the success of the commercial relations of the British with the Peshwa's country, Lord Cornwallis wrote a letter to Sir Charles Warre Malet the Resident at Poona on the 28th November 1787, asking for a report on the existing state of commercial relations between the English and the Mahrattas. The intention of Lord Cornwallis in asking for this report from Malet was to quote his own words to form a judgment how far these relations may admit of an increase advantageous to both sides". The letter⁴ which Sir Charles Warre Malet wrote to Lord Cornwallis in reply from Poona on the 8th August 1788 is a masterpiece of historical literature. This letter elaborately deals with the foreign and internal commerce of the Mahrattas, the state of trade which was then

carried on between the Company and the Mahrattas, the gradual expansion of the Mahratta State, the imports and exports between Bombay and Mahratta countries, the agriculture, commerce and topography of Southern India, the state of the then Mahratta Government and the Mughal rule before its decay, and last, but not the least, the trade conveyances between Poona and different parts of India. Perhaps, it will not be out of place to mention here that in the paper entitled "Commercial and Social Intercourse between the Hon'ble East India Company and the Poona Court in the Eighteenth Century", which was read by me before the eleventh meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission at Nagpur in 1928, I fully utilised this important historical document.

After reading the encouraging report of Malet, Lord Cornwallis, in order to further cement Anglo-Mahratta commercial relations, wrote a letter⁵ to him on the 30th October 1788, from Fort William, requesting him to make every possible effort to further strengthen Anglo-Mahratta trade at Poona, and also to encourage those artisans and manufacturers who had taken refuge at Poona from the decayed Mughal towns of Hindusthan to colonise the Company's territories in Bengal.

Such is a short account of the British relations with the Peshwa's court at Poona in the eighteenth century. Students of history who are interested in this subject will be given every facility to examine the contemporaneous documents preserved in the Imperial Record Department at Calcutta.

5. Public O. C. 22 April 1789, no. 26. (Very interesting letter).

HUMAYUN'S RELIGION.

BY

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Humayun's religion is a fascinating theme and it exercised great influence on Akbar and his administration. In order to discuss the subject, we shall have to consider the following points:—

1. Parentage.
2. Religious traditions among the Timurids.
3. Upbringing and education.
4. Marriages.
5. The environment. His nobles, courtiers and poets. Rajput traditions.
6. His life in Persia. Influence of Shah Tahmasp on him.
7. Religious tinge in his character. Sufistic influences.

Let us take these one by one.

1. Parentage:—His father Babur was a man pious and singularly free from bias or religious bigotry. He was deeply religious and had written the religious work *Mubin*¹ and versified Khwaja Arar's *Walidiya risāla*², as a pious act. His faith in God was unflinching. But he was untouched by the sectarian controversy. To him, Sunnism was his birth-right and as such it was the only orthodox form of Islam. At the same time he had not learnt to hate Shiism and was prepared if necessary to pray to Ali or read the *Shia Khutba*. It was he alone who dared read names of the 12 Imams from the *Jami Masjid* of Samarcand amidst the teeming Sunni population and his coins of the period emphasize the same fact. To him, cultural and political alliance with Persia was of greater significance than the maintenance of the sectarian differences. Again during Humayun's illness he prayed to Murtaza Ali, 'Karram-Allah

1. See *Baburama* pp. 437-8. Its full name was *Dar-siqha-i-mubaiyyam*.

2. *Ibid* pp. 619-20

Wajahahu 'so fervently that he thought his last illness ending in death was an acceptance of his prayers'. In order to realise his touch with Shiism, one may draw attention to his association with Persian rulers and its literature. The illustrious Sultan Husain Baiqara, a Shia and his relation, was the ruler of Khurasan, a province of Persia and Babur with a feeling of pride describes in his memoirs, the glories of the Sultan and his capital—Herat.

Again his friendship for Shah Ismail was deep and sincere for to his friend he owed the deliverance from the relentless Shaibani Khan¹. We know that Ismail was not only a political leader but also the head of a religious order and later on became the apostle of the neo-Shiism. Babur had no feeling of hatred to this cult. Having no spirit of a world conqueror, he was content to look on Ismail's success with passive contentment. This explains the absence of any condemnatory epithets with reference to Ismail or his son Tehmasp's deeds which included many senseless massacres².

This association with the Shahs of Persia naturally softened his orthodox tendencies. The differences between Sunnism and Shiism to a thinker would not appear irreconcilable and Babur as a pious scholar, could easily maintain a balanced view with regard to either, viz; being born a Sunni, he followed the rites of his sect, while he enjoyed the company of the Shias³.

Such a tolerating outlook is bound to grow and hence amidst the ignorant Afghans, he could rule with complacence and in India could be singularly free from idol-breaking tendencies⁴. If some of the Jain Images were mutilated at

1. See Gulbadan Fol. 17 a.

2. The other variants of his name are Shaibaq Khan, Shahi Beg or Shah-Bakht Khan.

3. For Ismail's cruelties see Browne Lit. Hist. of Persia Vol. IV p. 66.

4. In his court there were Persian poets and authors Khwāndamir being the most noted.

5. Ajudhiya temple was broken 934-1527-8 when Babur was at war with the Rajputs and had declared a *Jehid*. We do not know that its destruction took place at Babur's orders. The date 935-1528-9 is that of completion. See *Baburnama* p. 574 and Appendix C.

Urwah in Gwalior fort, it was because of their nudeness¹. Otherwise other temples at the same place are also visited and described by him but they are left entire². In fact he uses with regard to them the words, 'after enjoying the sights of these buildings.....' What a contrast between this cultured, deeply religious king and the Pathan rulers of Delhi, his bigotted predecessors!

Humayun, as the son of Babur was bound to profit by it. Babur carefully nurtured him and at the end of his day could confidently assert the goodness in the son. If Gulbadan Begam, Humayun's sister rightly reports him, to Babur there was no one equal to Humayun in distinction and that he loved him above all others³.

Also Humayun's mother was Maham Begam, whom Babur married in Khorasan.⁴ Like Hamida, she came from a Persian stock being descended from Ahmed of Jam or Turbat-i-Jam Sultan Husain, the ruler under whose patronage Babur then lived and who was like his more famous contemporary Ismail a protagonist of Shiism.⁵ Babur was deeply influenced by the personality of his illustrious relation and, to oblige him, married a Shia lady, especially as Muslim Law fully allowed it. The husband and wife were attached to each other⁶ and doted on their child. Maham exercised some political influence on her husband and much more on her son.⁷ The happy domestic life of his parents would tend Humayun to think little of the sectarian differences and imitate his father's example in marrying Shia ladies.

2. Traditions in the family:—Humayun was descended from the great Timur⁸, the world conqueror. The family

1. See Baburnama p 612.

2. Ibid, 613.

3. Gulbadan Humayun-nama 17 a.

4. In 1506.

5. See Browne Lit. Hist. of Persia Vol. IV, P. 63.

6. 'She was to Babur what Ayisha was to Md.' Mrs. Bev.

7. See Gulbadan.

8. Genealogy may be given thus:—

Timur d. 1404. Jalaluddin Miran Shah d.1410 Sultan Md. Mirza Sultan Abu 'Said M. d. 1469 Umar Sheikh Mirza d. 1494 Babur d. 1530 Humayun d. 1556.

contained votaries of either sect. About Timur, there is a controversy as to whether he was a Sunni or a Shia¹. Among those who were Babur's contemporary, Baisunghar M., Mahmud Mirza's son, Sultan Husain and his son Md. Husain M. were Shias at one time or the other. Many of them were learned, and pious and several were disciples of Khwaja Ubaidullah Ahrar² and his successors. The princes tolerated each other's religious views. Thus a Timurid prince was a synonym for culture, learning, toleration and breadth of view.

3. Humayun's upbringing and education:—Babur was ruling in Kabul when Humayun was born in 1508. He then took up the title of Padshah, a Persian title indicating a higher rank than that of a Mirza. Three years later in alliance with Shah Ismail he conquered Samarcand but lost it for his religious imprudence. They had welcomed him as one of their countrymen, just and wise but they turned their faces from him when from the pulpit of the chief mosque, he read the Shia form of Khutba and acknowledged the suzerainty of Shah Ismail. The Shia suzerainty was galling to the Samarcandi Sunnis and hence they drove away one who was dear to them in the past. Thus rejected, he returned to Kabul, maintained his alliance with Shah Ismail, learnt much of military improvements from him and turned to the east. It is to the credit of Babur, that as a ruler of Kabul, he so satisfied his Afghan subjects that they supported him against even their own country-man Ibrahim Lodi. Babur, before coming to Kabul was well known for justice and fairness and during his stay, he improved his reputation.

Babur was interested in his son's education and Humayun grew up under his eyes. It gave pleasure to Babur to think that Humayun's upbringing was in accordance with his ideas and so Humayun grew up to be a learned and pious scholar, qualified as warrior and administrator. Similarly Babur's kindness of nature, regard for his relations and disregard for wealth³

1. Harold Lamb : *Tamerlane, the Earth Shaker* p. 285. According to the Author, he was not a devout Muslim, but followed his own ideas.

2. The saint of Samarkand. He died in 1491.

3. He had distributed the wealth of Delhi on the Muslim world and had given away the famous diamond (Koh-i-nur²) on Humayun.

and assumption of the title of qalandar, (dervish)¹, were remembered and later on imitated by his son.

4. Humayun's marriages :—Humayun married several times. Of his wives three have been pronounced to be principal (a) Bega Begam, the wife of his youth, who accompanied him to Bengal and was captured by Sher Shah at the battle of Chausa. She is chiefly remembered for her large share in the building of her husband's tomb at Delhi and for accomodating several hundreds of Arabs in the neighbouring Serai, henceforth called Arab Serai. (b) Hamida Banu, daughter of Shaikh Ali Akbar Baba Dost Jami² a distant descendant of Shaik Ahmed of Jam. We shall have presently to refer to her again. (c) Mahchuchak Begam, a spouse of Humayun's older years being married in 1546 when he was of 38 years in age. She was a little girl at the time of her marriage and bore to the king 2 sons and 4 daughters. As mother of Md. Hakim she exercised influence in Kabul politics after her husband's death.

Then there were inferior wives of whom five could be traced.

(d) Gulbarg Birlas, Khalifa Nizamuddin Ali's daughter.³ Gulbarg was married after Humayun's accession, hence would to some extent refute the assumption that Humayun remained hostile to Khalifa, owing to the latter's intrigue against the prince's accession. Mir Masum author of *Tarikh-i-Sindh* writes of her death, "She entrusted her soul to the guardians of the hour of death and the leaves (Gulbarg) of the rose bush of her life were dispersed by the boisterous wind of mortality." Probably she died fairly young.

- (e) Khānish Agha Khwarizmi.
- (f) Shād Bibi.
- (g) Mēwa-i-jān.
- (h) Gūnwar Bibi.

1. The couplet on Ajudbiya Mosque given below proclaims his humility for all times. *فَسَأَمْ دَرِ جَانْ بَايْر قَانْدَر—كَرْ شَدْ دَرْ دُورْ كَيْتَی گَامْرَانِی*

2. Mrs. Bev. discusses whether Ali Akbar and Baba Dost refer to the same person. See *Gulbabān* p. 237-9.

3. Nizamuddin Khalifa was the influential minister of Babur.

Humayun had also been betrothed to two ladies, but from the absence of any later reference we assume that the marriages were not celebrated. The ladies were (i) Shabzada Khanam, daughter of M. Sulaiman and his more masculine wife Haram Begam. The betrothal took place in 1551, as a political measure, the object being to attach Sulaiman more firmly to his cause¹ as against the ever-turbulent Kamran. Since the object was realised with the defeat and submission of Kamran two years later 1553, the marriage was no more thought of. (j) The lady whose name is not forthcoming, was Shah Tehmasp's niece and Masum Beg's daughter. The betrothal took place in Ardibil in 1544. Here again Humayun's object was to claim relationship and thus aid from the Shah. Since full aid was rendered immediately afterwards, there was no occasion for Humayun to remember of his betrothed lady.²

Of these we need take only the first three ladies. Mahchuchak was too young at the time of marriage and became a widow ten years later. Hence her influence on the king was practically nil.

Bega Begum was also more or less neglected³, though she faithfully carried out her wifely duties and after her husband's death, acted as the chief guardian of his tomb.

Hamida Banu needs a closer attention. Married in 1542 when she was only a girl of 14, she showed remarkable prudence, hardihood and devotion in her husband's cause. Accompanied by another lady, wife of a commoner, she faced the hardships of the journey through the Biluch deserts and went to Persia in her husband's company. Her influence with Shabzada Sultanam

1. As A. N. Vol. 1 p. 575 says, His Majesty's (Humayun's) mind would be at rest as regarded Badakhshan and M. Sulaiman would be conciliated.

2. The modern readers may be reminded that the bridegroom and bride seldom met before the actual marriage was performed and hence no question of betrayal of plighted love arose. Hamida Banu's case was an exception.

3. See Gulbadan 30 a and b for her claims on Humayun for greater attention.

was all in Humayun's favour and partly because of her-a Shia's marriage with Humayun that the Shah hoped for the fulfilment of Humayun's promises, viz: making Shiism the state religion of the future India.

It is unfortunate that Humsyung made such large promises without realising whether he would ever actually be in a position to fulfil them. In Afghanistan, it would have been suicidal, in the face of the rivalry of the brother and other Mirzas, to make any such announcement. In India, his sojourn was too short and too full of stirring events to allow him to pay attention to the long postponed question. Still it would not be unreasonable to give him credit for sincerity. An enlightened scholar like him, brought up under the very eyes of one of the most remarkable among men of all times-Babur-knew full well the narrow differences between the two sects and that they were not unbridgeable.

Humayun's relations with Miriam Makani ¹ like his father's with Maham were marked by cordiality. As against the other wives, she enjoyed the company of her husband, she establishing her right by the sufferings endured during the journeys to and from Persia. In her son, Akbar's reign too her influence was considerable. It is believed by some writers, that Akbar's deviation from Sunnism to Shiism was as much due to his mother's influence as to any other.

(5) *The environment* : Nobles, courtiers and poets of his reign :—

When Humayun ascended the throne he found himself surrounded by nobles from all Muslim countries and belonging to both sects. The Shia Bairam among them, was, by Babur's recommendation², his particular friend and companion. Charged by his father on death bed ³, he played the protector and friend to all his nobles and subjects. Of course, there were other

1. Hamida's title by which she is usually known.

2. For Babur's compliments see Tarikh-i-Rahimi p. 64.

3. Gubadan 196. Babur's words are, "I hope to God, Humayun will also bear himself well towards men; and all of these (Brothers, kinsfolk and people) I confide to you".

a royal fugitive's interest¹ and that for his sake, he sacrificed the possibility of an honourable and advantageous settlement with Sher Khan. When no longer a king, but a mere fleeing fugitive, he yet was looked upon with a feeling of regard and respect by the kings of the day—Sher Shah and Shah Husain of Sind who might have captured him, if they had so chosen, and Shah Tehmasp who lent his army. His patience amidst sufferings is as noticeable as his munificence in affluence.

It is this high tone of his court that attracted people from all parts of the Muslim world and it would not be wrong to say that under Humayun just as under his more fortunate son, the centre of attraction for the Muslim learned was neither in Persia nor in Turkistan but the throne of Delhi.² Of the poets and historians that had gathered round him the following may be selected:—

1. From Turkistan:—

- (a) Maulana Abdul Baqi, Sadr Turkistani.
- (b) Mir Abdul Hai Bukhari.
- (c) Hairati of Mawaraunnahar.
- (d) Jahi Yatmiyān of Bukhara.
- (e) Khwaja Ayyub from Mawaraunnahar.
- (f) Moulana Nadiri from Samarcand.

2. From Persia:—

- (a) Mir Abdul Latif Qazvini.
- (b) Maulana Qasim Kahi.
- (c) Sheikh Abul Wajid.³ Fārighi Shirazi.
- (d) Shauqi Tabrizi.
- (e) Shaikh Zainuddin Khafi (Wafai).

1. Sultan Ghiasuddin Mahmud of Bengal.

2. See *Ain-i-Akbari* Vol III p. 349, where A. Fazl says, 'Hindustan has become a gathering of the virtuous from all parts of the Universe.'

3. Badauni calls him Wabid or Wajd.

3. From Herat :—

(a) Yusuf-bin. Mohd. Hiravi

(b) Ghiyasuddin bin Humayuddin Khwandsamir.
d. in India 1534-5.

4. From Merv : Khwaja Husain Mervi.

5. From Badakshan : Maulana Junubi ¹.

Similarly most of the chief nobles of the Mughal court were foreigners. Many of the Turki nobles came with Babur and there were continual additions in later years. From Persia came Bairam Khan, Shah Abul Masli and a host of others.

6. His sojourn in Persia : Influence of Tahmasp on him :—
Humayun stayed in Persia for a year or more (1544) and came into close contact with the Shah. He obtained an army in return for (1) putting on the Shia Taj and (2) a promise to read the Shia Khutba in India.

It is clear from the descriptions of Abul Fazl, Bayezid and Jauhar, that he was a devout person. At Turbat-i-jam, Ardibil and Mashad he spent several weeks praying at the tombs of the saints and the 8th Imam. In this devotion, he made no distinction of personages or creeds. At Mashad he repeated in honour of Ali,² the lines :—

ما نم ز جان بند او زد علی - هستیم خدیش حرم از باد علی
چون سر زبی کس نیافت جز او - آن بز کر کنیم درد خود باد علی

Similarly he prayed at the tomb of Shaikhul Islam Ahmed-i-Jam,¹ Zinda pir at Turbat-i-Jam and the tombs of Tahmasp's saintly ancestors. Shaikh Safiuddin,² and his son Shaik Sadriuddin and others. He was all humility at these places. At the Imam's 'Mazar', he acted as a 'farrash', cleaning the floor and trimming the candles. At Jan, was inscribed on the wall, in Humayun's handwriting the words

سرکشہ وادی بے سر انجام مسجد شہزادون

'the wanderer in the desert of destitution Md. Humayun.'

When the chief Qazi of the Shah spoke of rude behaviour in Humayun's followers and their insulting references to the Shia Imams, Humayun, if Jauhar is to be believed, was so shocked that as protest, he at once declared himself a follower and disciple of the two impeccable Imams meaning Hasan and Husain. From this declaration to the actual acceptance of Shiism at Tahmasp's suggestion was an easy and natural step.

It will also be clear that such an acceptance did not upset Humayun at all. A scholarly and cultured person like him would sympathise with the sufferings of the Imams and declare his love for them (Imams). As well, a Hindu, in a Shia Majlis, might shed warm tears at the recitation of the Marsyas or elegys.

That Humayun did not mean anything more than a momentary regard for the Shah and his faith, in his Shia declaration, is clear from his reply to Shaikh Hamid, during the second invasion on India. When the Sunni Shaikh fell into a passion at seeing practically all the king's soldiers to be Shias; and observed, 'I see the whole of your army are Rafizis. I find they are all Yar Ali or Kafsh Ali or Haider Ali and I have not found a single man bearing the name of any other companion', Humayun indignantly pointed out at the name of his own grandfather, Umār Shaikh and later informed the Shaikh of the purity of his faith (Sunniism).³

1. The other variant a *bulbul* the mad elephant that tears his victim.

2. From whom the Dynasty is called Safavi Dynasty.

3. Since Badauni writes it, 'the purity of his faith' would indicate Sunnism.

(b)

جان در لب آمد آفت جان را خبر کنید
 ای آه و ناام به مد مان را خبر کنید
 طوفان اشک خاست ز گرد آب چشم من
 زین موج فتنم خیز جهان را خبر کنید
 ای سوز و درد جان من از تاب غم بسوخت
 زین دیده ائمی اشک نشان را خبر کنید
 خاق ای ساده بر سر را هند منتظر
 آن شم سوار تند عناصر را خبر کنید
 چون فاش کشت را ز دام گو سر شک و آه
 از حال من رمین و زمان را خبر کنید
 در قید عقل جان همایون بلب رسید
 آشوب عقل و آفت جان را خبر کنید

1. In Islamic lore Jesus is taken as the curer of all ailments.

Translation:

My heart has come to the lips, O, sighs and lamentations,
 Inform my companions of the afflictions to my soul.
 A storm of tears has arisen from the vortex of my eyes,
 Inform the world of these tumultuous waves.
 O burn and pain, the heat of sorrow has burnt my heart,
 Inform people (of the state) of these tear-dried eyes.
 That the whole world is awaiting him at the head of
 the road,
 Inform that rider on the fast going steed.
 When the secrets of my heart are disclosed (to a few
 tell Tear and Sigh,
 That they as well inform (the rest of) the universe with
 the state of my mind.
 Under the restraint of intellect, Humayun's heart has
 come to the lips,
 Inform (the world) about the dread of intellect and the
 affliction of heart.

1. Ghazals

(a)

بس کہ می بارد فلک بر جان من تیر بلا
 مرغ جان ندوان پرید از سهم او از در هوا
 چون صدف گر بر تو باران بلا بارد مثال
 زانکم می بخشد ترا هر قطره در بے بنا
 با مسیحیا شرح درد من میوای آه از آنکر
 نبستش در حقہا سے چرخ د روی شفا
 نیست در صحرائی غم هر سو شفقت لایا
 هست از پیرا ہن پر خون من پر کالا
 بر اساس شهر هستی نیست یکدم اعتماد
 چون ہمایون خیزو منزل کن بصحرائی فنا

Translation:

As sky (fate) aims at me too many arrows of affliction,
 My soul (bird) cannot spring into aerial flights.

If the downpours of affliction deluge you, as rain does
 the oyster,

Do not complain (but remember) that to the oyster
 along with each drop of rain is given a pearl (hence to you also
 something precious may be given).

To Jesus (1) do not unfold (the state) of my pain,

For he does not possess any cure for me under the dome-
 like sky.

These are not poppies in bloom in the forest of grief,

They are only (tiny) muslin pieces from my blood-sea
 soaked garments.

Not for a moment can reliance be placed on the founda-
 tions of the city of existence,

Like Humayun, get up and reside in the wilderness
 of death.

(b)

جان بر لب آمد آفت جان را خبر کنید
 ای آه و نا اه بهمدمان را خبر کنید
 طوفان اشک خاست ز گرد آب چشم من
 زین موج فتنم خیز جهان را خبر کنید
 ای سوز و درد جان من از تاب غم بسوخت
 زین دیده ای اشک نشان را خبر کنید
 خاق ای سنا ده برس را هند منتظر
 آن شر سوار تند عنان را خبر کنید
 چون فاش گشت را ز دام گو سر شک و آه
 از حال من زمین و زمان را خبر کنید
 در قید عقل جان همایون باب رسید
 آشوب عقل و آفت جان را خبر کنید

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My heart has come to the lips, O, sighs and lamentations,
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 That the whole world is awaiting him at the head of
 the road,
 Inform that rider on the fast going steed.
 When the secrets of my heart are disclosed (to a few
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 That they as well inform (the rest of) the universe with
 the state of my mind.
 Under the restraint of intellect, Humayun's heart has
 come to the lips,
 Inform (the world) about the dread of intellect and the
 affliction of heart.

2. Rubais

یارب بکمال لطف خاصم گرداں
واقف بحقایق خواصم گرداں
از عقل جفا کار دل افکار شدم
دیوانم خود خوان و خلاصم گرداں ۰

O Lord by thy bountiful grace make me thy select,
Unfold to me the truths of the select,
My soul is in anguish through the tyrannous reason,
Make me bereft of reason but count me among thy select.

(b) ای دل زحضور یار فیروزی کن
در خدمت او بصدق دلسوزی کن
هر شب بخيال دوست خرم بنشين
شهر رور بوصل یار نوروزی کن

O Soul! reap success by the presence of thy Beloved,
Burn your heart in all sincerity in his service,
Every night sit jubilant at the thought of the Beloved,
Every day celebrate a 'Nauroz' by union with him.

(c) ای آنکه جفاوی تو بعالم عام است
روزیکم ستم فرم بلم ارتو ستم است
هر غم که رسداز ستم چرخ بدل
مارا چو غم عشق تو باشد چم غم است

Translation: ²

O thou whose tyranny is well known all the world over,
The day, I do not experience severity from thee is severe,
Whatever grief reaches the heart from the oppression of
the sky.

I care not for, so long as I have the grief of thy love
in me.

1. Frequently repeated by H. During the last few weeks of his life. See Akbar Nama p. 362.

2. By Mr. A. Ghani of Nagpur.

In his last two years, he abstained from animal food¹ and made a more copious study of Hâfiz. He grew more ascetic and more fervidly believed in the doings of God, so much so, that he started on his second conquest with less than three thousand men. As he proceeded, others joined him. Still when he faced Sikandar Sur, he had only 20,000 as against 70,000 Afghans. Even then he won a victory and later on recovered Delhi. It was his fame as king and man that enabled him to achieve the reconquest. As he says.

مارا چندان از روى پادشاهى هم نیست و هر چه هست باراده
خدائى عزوجل است - دل خود را با و بسترايم

'We do not entertain any desire for kingship. Whatever there is, is with God's will and so we have turned our heart to him'. Humayun was humble and placed himself at the service of God and He rewarded him by kingship.

Humayun at his death left for his son the ideal of a life of patience and sufferings coordinating with high and just principles of government. Akbar by acting on some of them became great and good.

THE CAUSE OF THE CAPTIVITY OF THE CANARA CHRISTIANS UNDER TIPU SULTAN IN 1784.

BY

MARINHO AZAVEDO M. B., B. S. F. I. C. O.

The period of Tipu Sultan's rule from 1789 to 1799 is the darkest in the history of the Christians of Canara as it witnessed their captivity and sufferings.

The chief point that presents itself for the consideration is the motive underlying the wholesale seizure of the Christians. Two explanations are possible viz. Political and Religious.

There are reasons to suppose that Tipu was actuated by fanaticism and bigotry to resort to the savage persecution and forcible conversion of the Canara Christians to his Mohamedan faith and the destruction of their churches is construed as Tipu's ardent desire to exterminate Christianity root and branch from his dominions.

As a matter of fact, Tipu indulges in a tirade against the Christians in his own memoirs¹ which he intended perhaps as a heirloom to his posterity and not as a document for public criticism and judgments of his actions and in which he vouches his hatred against them on religious grounds.

Though Tipu seized and carried the bulk of the Christians into captivity we know from authentic sources² that he spared a large number of them who were wanted to serve his own needs³ Tipu, whose chief claim to just fame lies in the fact

1. Kirkpatrick, Select Letters of Tipoo Sultan p. 57-60.

2. Saldanha, Captivity of the Canara Christians under Tipu in 1784, in a foot-note p. 3. The growers of betel were not taken captives as pan was of indispensable necessity for the Mohamedans and the Christians alone at the time knew to grow it.

3. Different family records left by the returned captives.

that he was out and out a great soldier, set a high value on the martial qualities of the Canara Christians among whom he had brought on discontent by his vexatious and repressive measures and at an imminent crisis when his extensive kingdom was threatened on all sides by the armies of the British, the Nizam and the Mahrattas he adopts a conciliatory policy towards the captives. Useful and influential men are picked up and given positions of trust at his palace and elsewhere.¹

The Christians of Canara were under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa, and when Tipu carried the Christians into captivity they were for some years left in neglect of their religious duties. Tipu was desirous of maintaining friendly relations with the Portuguese who he thought might be of help against his enemies, and partly to make amends for the oppression of his Christian subjects and partly in pursuance of his conciliatory policy towards the captives he sends an embassy to the Governor and the Archbishop of Goa begging them to send priests to the Christians of Canara and promising that he would rebuild the churches at his own expense which he had destroyed.²

It is also known that the savage persecution³ of the Christians began soon after the siege of Mangalore. Besides Tipu's own memoirs⁴ we have the testimony of several other writers to say that he seized them in order to make Mohamedans.⁵

1. Saldanha, p. 16 vide foot-note.

2. Mangalore Magazine Michaelmas 1900 Vol. I Saldanha p. 30; Fr. Pascetti, Missio Canarina quoted in Moore's History of the Diocese of Mahgalore p. 52 History of the Diocese of Mangalore p. 6 Buchanan, A journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore Canara and Malabar Vol. III p. 24. Bristow, A narrative of the sufferings p. 114.

3. Rice, Mysore and Coorg Vol. I p. 277 and 283 Bristow p. 86 App. I in Saldanha.

4. Kirkpatrick p. 59.

5. Bristow p. 86. Rice Vol. I p. 279; Sturrock, District Manual of South Canara Vol. I p. 183; Abbe Dubois, Letters g. 74.

But why should Tipu have begun to persecute the Christians only after the siege of Mangalore and not before it?

The Christians were charged for helping the English during the siege. That the latter were helped by the former is said by Scurry¹ who was one of the captives at the Christian camp at Seringapatam. Again, Major Campbell² writes from Mangalore on the 3rd May 1783 how the local Christians supported the English.³ After the capture of Mangalore a second time by General Mathews and its subsequent recovery by Tipu Sultan in 1784 he evinced immediately his aversion and distrust of the Christians because two of them are said to have acted as spies and guides to conduct the English into Mangalore.⁴ General Mathews had written that he had borrowed Rs. 330,000 from the Malabar⁵ Christians and had requested anyone who happened to read it to make it known to the President and Council in any of the Presidencies.⁶

Recently however we came across an unpublished document in the heap of Ms. in the old Portuguese archives in Goa which coming from an independent and unbiased source tends to throw much light on the point so far unsettled among the students of Indian History.

The Viceroy of Goa Dour Frederics Guilherme de Souza writes on the 9th of May 1784 to the Secretary of State in Lisbon, Martinho de Mello e Castro to say that Tipu, after making peace with the English, became hostile towards the Christians who are about 20,000 in number causing them much vexation and oppression, living as they are along the Ghauts.

1. Scurry, p. 196. in his *Captivity, Sufferings and Escape* (also p. 197).

2. Saldanha, in a foot-note p. 18.

3. Logan, *Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads* Vol. IX p. 362.

4. *Livro de Moncoës* no. 164 C. p. 1167 in the *Archivo Historico* of Port. India.

5. The Canara Christians are here called Malabar Christians as Scurry used the term Malabar in the wider sense of the West coast.

6. From Gen. Mathews to the Council of Bombay 1783. *Forrest, Selections from State Papers, Home Series II* p. 277.

forcing them to go and live above the Ghauts, and charging them for helping the English to become masters of his Kingdom, and despite his request to him to set the Christians at liberty Tipu replied observing however silence on the point requested¹.

The Viceroy who had regular correspondence with Tipu learnt of the motive that led the latter to persecute the Christians from Tipu himself and when the Viceroy protested to him Tipu replied as above. Any other ruler would have behaved identically if not with brutal cruelty towards his subjects and therefore Tipu could not be an exception to the rule.

From the foregoing it is quite evident that Tipu vouches a decided hatred against the Christians only after the siege of Mangalore because they rendered both active and pecuniary help to the English who were his enemies, and this infuriated Tipu to such an extent that in his frenzy he resorted to savage persecution and forcible conversion of the Kanara Christian, to the Mohamedan religion and he makes use of a convenient religious pretext to justify their captivity at Seringapatam in 1784.

1. Livro de Memórias no. 164 C. 1. 1157 in the Archive Histórica of Portuguese India.

A PORTUGUESE EMBASSY TO RAIGAD IN 1684

BY

PANDURANGA PISSURLENCAR

Curator, Historical Records of Portuguese India

It is well known that before the celebrated war between Sambhaji and the Portuguese had begun, the Maratha King had planned, in the beginning of 1682, to seize and fortify the small island of Anjidiv, which is still in the possession of the Portuguese and lies five miles to the south west of Karwar, in the North Kanara District.¹

But the Vice-Roy of Portuguese India, the Earl of Alvor, already aware of the intention of the Maratha monarch, and not wishing to lose hold of a post necessary for the preservation of the safety of Goa, ordered his soldiers to occupy it in secret.²

This incident between the two powers did not actually provoke a war between them, but nevertheless the war did not take long in coming.

As a matter of fact, under the pretext that the Portuguese in December, 1682, had allowed the unopposed passage of the Mughal army, advancing against the Marathas, through the territories under their jurisdiction in the North, Sambhaji turned his arms against them attacking Danu, Asserim, Saibana and Tarapur.³ One of his ablest generals with six thousand foot soldiers and two thousand horsemen made an attempt to scale the walls of the Fortress of Chaul [Morro de Chaul, or Korla]

1. See Dr. Gerson da Cunha, *Anjedica*, and my book *Portuguese e Maratas*, II (Sambhaji), p. 8.

2. See P. Pissurlenkar, *Portuguese e Maratas*, II (Sambhaji), 192², pp. 8-10; Sir J. Sarkar, *Hist. of Aurangzib*, Vol. IV, 1930, p. 315.

3. P. Pissurlenkar, *Maratas em Bacaim*, p. 9.

When Sambhaji learned that the Mughal army commanded by Shah-Alam intended to invade south Konkan, in fear that his enemies, the Portuguese and the Desas of the Kokan, should unite with that army, he consented that Prince Akbar, who was with him, should start negotiations for peace with the Vice-Roy.

This peace was indeed settled through the mediation of Prince Akbar, Kavi Kalash representing Sambhaji and Manoel Saraiva de Albuquerque the Portuguese government.

The Treaty in question was settled, with equal advantages on both sides at Phonda between the 25th of January and the 4th of February of 1684, the terms of which treaty remained unknown to students of Indian History until we came across a document in the Government Archives of Goa, which refers to it.⁷

Having settled the terms of the treaty, the ambassadors of Prince Akbar and Sambhaji, named Madaji Naik, and Rai Kirtising, proceeded to Goa in order to have the same ratified by the Vice-Roy.

The Earl of Alvor sent a present and a letter by Madaji Naik to Sambhaji, expressing in it the wish that he should maintain "faithfully what was concluded in the articles of the peace treaty"⁸ and the Vice-Roy promised him, on his side would not fail in any of its terms, so that the friendship might run smoothly and in peace and without between both of these States, in order that either might enjoy the fruit of peace."⁹

Vice-Roy could not send this letter by an ambassador own to the Maratha monarch "owing to the uncertainty place in which the said Chatrapaty found himself" "of the changes made by wars".¹⁰

A fortnight after, the Earl of Alvor sent to Kavi Kalash, minister of Sambhaji Raze Chatrapaty, the Brahmin, Krishna Naik, with a letter demanding the fulfilment of the

7. Ibid., p. 56-57 Sir J. N. Sarkar, *Hist. Aurang.* IV, p. 332.

8. See *Port. e Maratas*, II, p. 65.

9. *Idem.*

10. *Ibidem.*

treaty so determined.¹¹ But the King of the Marathas declined to fulfil faithfully what was covenanted in the above mentioned treaty.

What motive or pretext could Sambhaji have alleged not to maintain the treaty in question, which had been settled with so much thought?

Says Duff ¹² "the viceroy made overtures for peace, but as Sambhaje demanded five crores of pagodas as a preliminary, they were at once broken off."

We have already shown that the historian of the Marathas does not give us the truth in this passage.

Recently, papers belonging to the archives of the extinct religious Orders, in Goa, were added to the above mentioned Historical Archives and among these were many which had not been seen by research-workers. A pile of documents came to our hands which threw much light on this subject.

From the documents one may conclude that the treaty in question was agreeable to Kavi Kalash and Akbar, but the Peshwa was opposed to their opinion,¹³ and there is a letter from the Portuguese General of the North saying that the same Peshwa was the enemy of Kavi Kalash.¹⁴

The Vice-roy, the Earl of Alvor, ratified the treaty and sent an embassy to Sambhaje with a view to obtain the execution of the treaty in question.

11. *Idem.*

12. Duff, *Hist. of the Maharattas*, ed. by S. M. Edwards, Vol. I, 1921, p. 244.

13. In a letter written by Rangaji Laximydhari it is stated that only "Caviji Bava (Kavi Kalash), Anchollogi Raze (The rajah of Anchola) and the Princess (Prince Akbar's wife) are favourable to the present treaty of peace, but other persons, including Keshav Pant Peshwa, are set against it." (Goa Archives)

14. See the letter of Joseph de Melo addressed to Rev. Frey Antonio de sam Joseph and dated 19th June 1684, in which it is said "I warn you that all these questions are provoked by the Peshwa in order to cancel the treaty of peace stipulated by Kavi Kalash who, it is said, is a great enemy of the Peshwa."

An ambassador was chosen in the person of a friar of the Convent of St. Augustine, Friar Antonio de S. Joseph by name, who was accompanied by Frs Verissimo da Conceição, Antonio Alvaro Themudo and several others. They also took with them an intelligent Brahmin, named Ramkrishna Naik. Referring to this man, the Secretary of the State wrote to the ambassador the Rev. Fr. Antonio de Sousa on the 24th March, 1684: "Ramacrisna Naique, who bears this, is a person who deserves the full confidence of His Excellency the Viceroy, because he has shown much zeal in matters concerning this state, and only a few days back bore letters which His Excellency had written to Prince Akbar, Kavi Kaleji, and Gangadhar Pandit, superintendent of the royal treasury of Sambhaje Rajah Chatrapaty, and has brought replies to those aforementioned letters with the news that they would send for the aforesaid ambassador, through Rai Kirtising, and Rangagi Lacmidar. Now, His Excellency the Viceroy has ordered the said Ramacrisna to go in company with the Rev. Fr., because he has much experience and possesses all information regarding the peace treaties, formed between both the states, and because his intelligence would be of great value in matters which are in the hands of your Rev. He has the right of entrance to the house of Kavi Callegi who listens to all that he tells him, and he will just accompany your Rev. to the presence of that minister, from where he will return with the news of the dealings Your Rev. may have with him, and bring the letters your Rev. may give to him."

The embassy left Goa towards the end of March, 1684, proceeding first to Patgaon and later on to Raigad, where Sambhaje Rajah was then staying.

It would be interesting to know the instructions which the Portuguese ambassador took, but unfortunately these are not to be found in the Archives of Goa.

From documents now brought to light one may conclude that Sambhaje had alleged two motives for his not fulfilling the treaty: 1st. That the Portuguese agent Manoel Saraiva de Albuquerque had promised and sworn upon his word of honour to evacuate the island of Anjediv, a promise which the Portuguese had not maintained; and secondly, that the Viceroy would send

an envoy to him, Sambhajee, with a liberal gift,¹⁵ but that the present that was sent fell short of the promised one.

Referring to these two points, the Viceroy the Earl of Alver wrote to the same ambassador on the 17, April, 1684 :

"I have gone through all your Reverence tells me in your letter, and also what Kavi Kalash wrote to me, and hearing from the Rev. Verissimo da Conceição and Antonio Alvarez Themudo, whom your Reverence sent to inform me in detail about the dealings you have had with the Prince, Kavi Kalash and other ministers of Sanbhajee Rajah, and the replies that were given to you, which show that fresh questions have been raised to prevent fulfilment of the conditions of peace arranged between both the States. The pretext, is alleged that the Envoy Monoel Saraiva had promised and sworn verbally that Anjediva would be evacuated, and that I would send an ambassador to Sambhajee Rajah with a munificent present. As no fulfilment had been made of these two promises regarding Anjediv and the present, he could not comply with our desire of ordering the General Peshwa to retire from the North and quit the territories occupied by him, nor raise the fortification of the village of Colla,¹⁶ nor set at liberty the prisoners of Bhimgad,¹⁷ nor restore the artillery of the Fortresses of Bardez, all of which causes me intense surprise, for it is news to me to hear of the proposal of evacuating Anjediva, and of the liberal present, for Monoel Saraiva did not speak to me about these matters, nor did Madaji Naik nor his companions ever refer to them, when they came with the conditions of peace. On receiving this information I asked Manoel Saraiva if he had made the said promises. He replied that regarding Anjediva and Kavi Kalash's speaking to him about quitting it, he had told him, that this proposal of his could not be considered, because that island belonged to the Portuguese,¹⁸ who were its first-inhabitants, and

15. See the letter of Sidhoji Farzand, in which we read: "मात्र अप्पा द्वारा दोनी गोईची किनारी निश्चिनी आहे देक गोसी की, अनांशीं तोहून यावे. दुसरी गोईची योद्धी देवी लावे घेऊ यावे" (Goa Archives).

Archives de l'Institut de Goa, Vol. I (1925), p. 23, 175.

16. See Saldanha, *Historia de Goa*, Vol. I (1925), p. 33, 175.

17. Dr. Gerson da Cunha, *The Origin of Bonfay*, 1900, p. 255.

17. Dr. Gerson da Cunha, *ibid.* p. 110.
 18. Documents preserved in the Portuguese Government Archives

at Panjin.

that due to its being inhospitable, with much illness and many deaths, they had abandoned it and the English who had inhabited it afterwards had done the same later on,¹⁹ owing to its inhospitality, and with their hands on their hearts, had said that the climate of that island was such that it was bound to be deserted, in less than two years. Speaking in this way, giving the examples of the past history of the island and showing it to be so uncertain a matter which depended solely upon future events, he did not say that the aforesaid island would be deserted within two months, nor had he pledged his word about it, as they falsely desired to give the impression.

As regards the present, Prince Akbar saying that I should send a gift to Sambhajee Rajah for having made peace, had replied that I could not fail to give this demonstration of friendship, but had not made him believe that the present would be a large one, and this was the truth about what had passed with regard to these two points.

According to this reply given by Manoel Saraiva, one can clearly see that he did not promise that Anjediva would be evacuated, nor that the present would be of the value demanded, and though in the peace conferences such things were spoken of, as they were not written down in its terms of peace, there was no reason to fulfil them, but only the obligations entailed in the terms referred to, from which Sambhajee could not escape, without censure. It was on the part of Sambhajee and not, on my part that the treaty failed to be carried out, because after it was settled and made known, his general continued the war in the North showing much hostility which could not be and causing great damages, set right for long years after as the losses were very considerable. It seems to me most unbecoming in Prince Akbar to demand the fulfilment of what was not stipulated, and even less to speak of the size of the present, because presents are voluntary, and are wont to be sent in token of love, and friendship and not for interest. Moreover Madaji Naik had been sent a very sumptuous present fit to be given to Sambhajee Rajah, and

19. See P. Pissurlencar, *A liga dos Portugueses como Ilha contra Sambhajee no Oriente Português*, no. 2.

considering that he ought not now to mind that what your Reverence takes, is less costly and as these doubts have been raised regarding what was settled in those terms of peace, I come to the conclusion that Sambhajee Rajah sought peace, not with the desire of maintaining the friendship of the Portuguese, but out of the dread of the army of the Mughal King, fearing that the armies might join each other, and cause him greater harm, as may be clearly seen, since now that that army has retired, he raises these quite unreasonable questions. This your Rev. should represent to the Prince and to Kavi Kalash, assuring them that on my part I am ready to maintain all that has been settled in the said terms, and that should Sambhajee Rajah refuse to defer the business proposed by your Rev.'s embassy, I shall know that he does not want peace, and to avoid it seeks this excuse of Anjediva and of the present.

Your Rev. should make Prince and Kavi Kalash understand that should the conditions of peace be not entirely fulfilled without raising other matters, which they do not state, you are at liberty to return and you should do so not only desisting from these intents, without agreeing to his proposal, but you should return immediately to this town, without staying any more on that side, since your assistance would then be of no service to either of the states. "

The letter which Manoel Saraiva de Albuquerque wrote to Kavi Kalash is also an interesting document, because we can learn thereby some details of the negotiations. Here it is:

" ...The Earl, Viceroy ordered that I should be informed of the letter which you wrote saying that I had promised, and sworn that within two months the orders for the destruction and evacuation of Anjediva would be given; in truth, sir, I do not know how I lived after this news. I suppose that he, who was interpreting what I said must have misunderstood me or then with malicious intent must have told you what I did not say for such are the difficulties which arise through speaking by means of an intermediary, for I cannot believe anything else of your heart and of your kind nature. I was told that you ordered the cancelling of many of the terms which the Council desired to propose, only that the peace should be hastened, and I have

always, recognised in you a great desire that peace should endure, like the sun and the moon. Now I perceive all the words charged which I spoke to you about Anjidiva and over which we debated for three nights and the last argument with which we remained satisfied was my saying to you who is a witness of this that I stood as a guarantee and I gave my word that the same island in less than two years would drive away the Portuguese with sickness and deaths, as it had done to the first comers and to the Englishmen, and that I was so sure of this that I would pledge my hand to you that it would be so and that since it was of no use to Sambhajee Rajah nor to his state, we should cease to talk any-more about it, because it was so highly regarded in the shelters that it offered, that soon its worth would be seen. Concerning the present that would be made to Sambhajee Chhatrapaty, it was not spoken of in Council; only the Prince [Akbar], spoke to me about it, saying that it was better that it would be made, and that Sambhajee Chhatrapaty would also send an elephant or something else to which I replied that the Earl was so munificent, that he would not fail, but if he should fail to send anything, that I would send something from my own house, out of the love I had for peace, for one does not think of the value of what is presented, but only of the love with which it is offered, especially when it is from one brother to another, and therefore I dared to offer it from my house, not because I could give it with the grandeur with which the Earl would have done it for if the country would allow more, he would be still more munificent, since he is very liberal. If in this manner they did not express everything to you, it is a misfortune and it is to be regretted that on account of a thing of so little worth, so many ills have caused, as has been achieved in the delay in the fulfilment of the peace treaties which we had drawn up with so much pleasure. But with your permission I shall say that many persons on that side did not like much that the terms should be settled, and even in this town Malar Jandava [Malhar Jadhav] spoke very bitterly against them, and in my house said one day that this state would send to Sambhajee Rajah a large amount of pagodas, in order to make peace firm, for which I scolded him saying that he who spoke in that way was not a good vassal and you may ask Rangaji Lakhamidhar about this for he was present when that took place. This was

not the only proof that he gave of what I am saying now for sending to ask me for an agent with cloth to buy, he took all that he wished and went away without paying anything, and on my complaining of this through Rangaji and Madaji, he could not be made to pay, giving in every way proofs that the treaties would not be valid, as I am seeing now, for no fulfilment has been given to anything. They avail themselves of pretexts of so little weight in order to prevent the setting right of so many petty things, as are suffered in these occasions. Do not be like that Mr. Kavi Kalash, and do not give room to evil-intentioned persons, for there is no reason to think that which is signed with the seals of Sambhaje Rajah and of Prince Sultan Akbar should be left unfulfilled, without on our side having given motives for these delays, nor the fact of interpreting to your badly what I said about Anjediva could not be a motive, for even now I regret what I said that it will itself drive away all those who stay there, as time will show. If this be the only motive for not fulfilment a peace so much desired by all, do not be astonished at my saying and believing that I think that is only an excuse seized lest peace be settled....."

The reasons offered by the Portuguese authorities in these letters did not convince Sambhaje who, however, deemed fit that there should be an armistice until the ambassadors whom the Maratha King was sending to Goa should come with the final reply of the Viceroy on the controversial points. And in this sense a document was drawn up so that "in all times may be known what the Portuguese ambassador and Kavi Kalash determined on this matter in question" It is a remarkable document, written in Portuguese. We transcribe it below in full:

"Copy of the Paper which was handed over by the Portuguese Ambassador to Sambhaje Rajah Chhatrapaty and to Kavi Kalash, minister:

Fr. Frey Antonio de Sas Joseph, Religions of the Order of the hermits of St. Augustin, ambassador of the Earl of Alvor, Viceroy and Captain-General of the State of India, envoy to Sambhaje Rajah Chhatrapaty, who receiving him in the presence of his ministers the Embassy had no doubt about any of the

points of the conditions of peace celebrated at Phonda by Manoel Saraiva de Albuquerque. On the contrary he confirmed all that the conditions of the said treaties stated, promising not to fail in any of their terms, and only made observations about two, namely the promise which Manoel de Saraiva made of ordering the destruction of the fortress of Anjediva, and the second that the state would send a present of such value and quantity that it would amount to one lac of pagodas. He said that if the state fulfilled these two promises, he, Sambhaje Raja Chatrapaty, would not fail in keeping his word to the full as he had promised in the terms of peace, and as I myself replied to these two promises of Manoel Saraiva with my reasons, and citing that already the Earl Viceroy, Manoel Saraiva, Linz Gonsalves Cotta, secretary of the state, had replied to Kavi Kalash and the other ministers of Sambhaje Rajah and to the Sultan Akbar, Mughal Prince. I said it was useless to such a matter further and that when Sambhaji Raze Chatrapaty and other ministers of his did not wish to desist from arguing these questions, I had order from the Earl Viceroy to go back to Goa since I had neither his commission nor order to proceed further in the matter, when Kavi Kalash asked me if he had brought an order to declare war, replied that I could hardly declare war since I came only to treat of peace and that even for that I had no order from the Earl Viceroy and thus after many disputes and conferences between me and Kavi Kalash took place over these two above mentioned points, we both came to an agreement that Sambhaji Rajah Chatrapaty would send ambassadors with me to Goa to deal with these two points, since I had no authority nor any commission to reply to them, other than the reply given by the Earl Viceroy and the Secretary of the State through Manoel Saraiva, and that only the Earl Viceroy could settle these two points in whatever way he liked. I said that I desired strongly that this peace should be settled and in taking me to Goa I should do all that was in my power for preservation of peace and as long as the Earl Viceroy did not defer to ambassador of Sambhaji Rajah Chatrapaty on the resolution of these two above-mentioned points, there would be a cessation of arms between both States, and thus I warned by letters Jose de Mello de Castro, General of the territories of the North and the other captains of the same territories that there might not be any

hostility on their part or on ours until the above-mentioned ambassador of the Maharaja Chatrapati had reached Rairi with the reply of the Earl Viceroy stating what he resolves in the matters of these referred to points. For the future be it known that Kavi Kalash and I settled the matters referred to above on this day, the sixth of September of the thousand six hundred and eighty four."

Having made this settlement, the Portuguese ambassador left Raigad in October, by way of Chaul, and returned to Goa, arriving at that city in November 1684.

The ambassadors of Sambhaji could not, however accompany the Fr. Frey Antonia de Saô Joseph, though he waited several days at Bassein for them. These Mahratta ambassadors went to Goa in December 1684. Their names are Rangaji Laxmidhar, who new Portuguese, and Sidoji Farzand.

The Viceroy Earl of Alvor, though lacking in the necessary means of war, was not disposed to give in to the Mahratta government in the controversial points, and therefore, tried to break away from the treaty.

Shortly after, the Viceroy Earl of Alvor recovered by force of arms the Portuguese territory in India which was occupied by Sambhaji.

A COMMENTARY ON THE VĀGBHĀTĀLĀMĀKĀRA
BY JÑĀNAPRAMODAGANI
COMPOSED IN JEHANGIR'S REIGN
IN A. D. 1625; SAMĀVAT 1681.

BY

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No mention is made of a commentary on the *Vāgbhātālāmākāra* of Vāgbhaṭa I by a Jain Commentator Jñānapramodagani either by Dr. S. K. De in his *Sanskrit Poetics* or by Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*. Only the *Jain Granthāvali* (1909) refers to a manuscript of this work in the Patan Bhandar (on p. 312) but the date of composition recorded therein and indicated by the remark "रच्यानो संवत् १६२१" is wrong. Perhaps "१६२१" is a misprint for 1681 but this misprint is repeated in the Index of Dates given at the end of the *Jain Granthāvali* and is left uncorrected in the शुद्धिपत्र annexed to the volume.

The Govt. MSS Library at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, possesses only one manuscript of this *Vāgbhātālāmākāravṛtti*. It is No. 798 of 1899-1915 and is included in the list of MSS printed by this Institute in 1925. Though the folios of the manuscript are serially numbered, the manuscript is incomplete, as on folio 1 the commentary on stanza 22 of the 2nd Pariccheda begins. The colophon of the 2nd Pariccheda as recorded on folio 3 of the MS reads as follows:—

"इति बृहत्सरतरगच्छे भग्नाकप्रभुश्रीजिनराजसुरिविजयिराज्ये श्रीसागरचंद्रसूरसंताने पट्टनुकम्मसंजातरलधारणिप्रवरविनेयवाचनाचार्यज्ञानभ्रमोदगणिविनिर्मितायां पागभटालं कारवती द्वितीयः परिचेदः"

The MS consists of 78 folios and is uniformly written in a legible manner, characteristic of the Jain scribes.

The colophon of the MS reads as follows on folios 77-78:—

“इति चृहत्खरतरगच्छे भद्रारकप्रभुध्रीजिनराजसूरिविजयिराज्ये श्री सागरचंद्रसूरि-
संताने पट्टानुक्रमसंजातश्रीमद्वाचनाचार्यरत्नधा(धी)रगणिप्रवरविनेयवाचनाचार्यज्ञानप्रमोदग-
णिविनिर्मितायां वाग्भटालंकारवृत्तौ पंचमः परिष्ठेदः ॥ ५ ॥ श्री-

व्याख्यातमस्मिन् यदसंमतं त-
द्वयं विशोध्यं विवृथेर्महद्विः ।
मयि प्रसव्यापरस्य दोप-
गुणामलज्ञानविधौपदिष्टैः ॥ १ ॥
विधाय टीकां यदिमां सुपुष्पां
समुज्जितं द्राद्ययकाहितेच ।
सिद्धि लभतामचिरेण सम्यग्
भव्या विधूताखिलकर्मसंगाः ॥ २ ॥
चंद्रकुलविपुलवियदिदुमुखउथोतनाभिधः सूरिः
आसीत्तपद्विधिपगणभद्रावद्वमानगुहः ॥ ३ ॥
तत्पदपद्वाहर्मणिरभूज्ज्ञनेश्वरसूर्यामसूरिवरः ।
खरतरगणस्य सुमहिमकारी जिनचंद्रसूरिथ ॥ ४ ॥
श्री अभयदेवसूरिवागग्रहयुत्करस्य निर्माता
श्री जिनवल्लभसूरि । युग्माद्वृो जैनदत्तगुहः ॥ ५ ॥
पट्टानुक्रमभूता जिनादुदयराजभद्रसूरीशाः ।
श्री जिनपूर्ववर्णद्वंद्वः समुद्रहंसी जिनाक्षम्यै ॥ ६ ॥
श्री जिनमाणिक्यगुरुंगप्रधानजिनचंद्रसूरिनाथः ।
युगवरजिनसिंहाहुः खरतरगच्छ श्रियेवासीत् ॥ ७ ॥
तत्पट्टोदयभूयराहणवरो भव्यायुजोद्वोधकः ।
प्रोद्यद्वीजिनराजसूरियुग्मभद्रद्वारको धीपतिः ॥
अल्पीयः पादिनां प्रसवनयनस्त्वैः पदारोपको
बोहित्यात्वयशेषरो विजयतां स्फूर्जत्पतापावलिः ॥ ८ ॥
सूरिश्रीजिनसागरपरिष्ठृतजिनराजयिनिसुराज्ये ।
प्रथमोदितजिनराजगुरुवृत्तभुवनरत्नसूरिपद ॥ ९ ॥
तदीय यत्कैरवपार्वणेदुः
साधुप्रभुः सागरचंद्रसूरिः ।
संविप्रशिश्यावलिल्यूरपा
तनामधेया भवदुच्चशास्या ॥ १० ॥
तत्पट्टपूर्वाचलचंद्रधामा ।
वभौ च धर्मादिमरत्नासूरिः
सद्वर्मरत्नाकर इत्युद्ग्रो ।
युद्धया गुरुंजयतीवलद्वा ॥ ११ ॥

तदीय शिष्यः समयार्थपारगः ।
 पुण्यश्रियां बहुभ इत्यतोभवन् ।
 श्रीमानुपाधायपुण्यवहमो ।
 यथार्थेनामा वृपरत्नसेवयि ॥ १२ ॥
 ततौ वभौ वाचकमौलिरत्नं ।
 धीमान् दयाधर्मगणिर्दयालुः ।
 तदन्वभूद्याशिवधर्मनामा ।
 सद्वाचनाचार्यगुणोद्गुतो वा ॥ १३ ॥
 इष्टे तदीयौ हि विनेयमुख्यौ
 श्रीहर्षंहंसाभिधरत्नधीरौ ।
 वादीभृंदोद्दततारसिंहो ।
 स्फुरद्धरायो गुणरत्नगेही ॥ १४ ॥
 जिताः समुद्रागुरुभिर्मदीयै-
 ज्ञाने ददद्विद्विद्विरलन्यं ।
 यदीयमानं सततं मुनिभ्यः ।
 प्रवर्द्धते वैव करोति मुक्ति ॥ १५ ॥
 तिरस्कृता स्वप्रभणिद्रुमाद्या-
 नुभावाराः प्रकटप्रभावाः ॥
 प्रकाशितच्छात्रसुविद्वित्ता
 जीयासुरिद्वा गुरुष्टपादाः ॥ १६ ॥
 श्रीमद्वाचकध्यानत्परिधियां रत्नवीरसुगुणां ।
 दीका मया प्रसादाद्विहिता ग्रंथानुसारेण ॥ १७ ॥
 संवद्विकमनु(वृ)प तो विधुवसुरसशाशिभिरंकिते वर्षे ।
 ज्ञानप्रमोदवाचकगणिभिरियं विरचिता वृत्तिः ॥ १८ ॥
 प्राज्यथिणि साम्राज्ये सिलमेसादेः प्रशस्तभूपस्यः ।
 श्री गजसिंहमहीये । लवेरनामनि इभस्याने ॥ १९ ॥
 श्री पातसाहिषुंगव । सिलेस(म)साहौ प्रवर्त्तमानेत्र ।
 राज्ये नवकोट्टपतेः ॥ श्री गजसिंहस्य भूपस्य ॥ २० ॥
 चंद्राकौं गगने यावद्यावद्युथियां समूधरा ।
 वाम्भटालंकृते वृत्ति । जीयाज्ञानप्रमोदिका ॥ २१ ॥
 वृद्धो मर्दीयशिष्यो गणिगणगुणनंदनः । स नंदिजयः
 गुणनंदनगणिरलिरतप्रथमादर्शं प्रयत्नेन ॥ २२ ॥

The chronogram "विधुवसुरसशाशि" in verse 18 of the above colophon gives us *Sāvatī 1621* (= A. D. 1625) as the date of composition of this commentary by *Jñānapramodagāṇī* as stated in the verse. The expression "साम्राज्ये सिलमेसादेः" presu-

mably refers to the reign of Emperor Jehangir, whose Christian name, as we are given to understand was Muhammad Sultan Salim¹. Then again the epithet "पातसाहित्यंगव" as applied to "सिलेमसाह" in verse 20 definitely states his imperial descent and this statement combined with the date of composition of the commentary viz. A. D. 1625 leaves no doubt that the reference to "सिलेमसाह" in the two verses 19 and 20 is definitely applicable to Emperor Jehangir alone and not to Salem Shah, who was Emperor of Delhi between A. D. 1545 and 1553² and who is stated to have honoured Candrakirti, the Jain Commentator of the *Sūrasvatapratyā* of Anubhūtisvarūpācārya. The above colophon also mentions one "गजसिंह भूा" or "गजसिंह महीप". I am inclined to identify this King with Maharaja Gaja Singh³ who was one of the distinguished officers employed by Jehangir to hunt down Shah Jahan in May 1623 A. D during the latter's revolt against the former. We also know that this officer of Jehangir was signally defeated in one of his encounters with Shah Jahan's forces to such an extent that even his tent equipage was seized by the enemy. Dr. Sudhindranath Bhattacharyya⁴ describes this encounter in his learned article on "The Rebellion of Shah Jahan etc." as follows:—

"The need for wiping off the stain of this defeat was keenly felt and the rebel prince now made a fresh effort to dislodge the Imperialists from their entrenchments. The fleet and the artillery renewed their activities and the Rajput forces under Raja Gaj Singh of Jodhpur were now vigorously attacked and reduced to great straits. Raids upon the Imperialist Camp followed, in one of which even the tent equipage of the Rajput Chief Gaj Singh was seized and many of his followers slain. The turn of Sultan Parvez soon came. His

camp was also successfully attacked and some of his personal effects including the bed-sted were carried away"—(Beharistan 313a—313b.)

As regards the identification of "लवेरस्थान" mentioned in verse 19 of the colophon, I am inclined to identify it with "Lahore" which was occasionally the seat of Jehangir's court and where Jehangir arrived from Kashmir on October 12, 1625 and stayed for a few months before he set out for Kabul in March 1626¹. The name "लवेर" of the present MS colophon is phonetically nearer to "Lahore" than other names for it recorded by Mr. N. L. Day viz. लवपुर, लवकर, लोहवर.²

Our commentator informs us in the last verse of the colophon that the present MS is the प्रथमादर्श i. e. the first original MS of the commentary, written by a scribe who is none other than one of his pupils named गुणनंदनगणि. It appears to me, however, to be rather a copy of this प्रथमादर्श than the प्रथमादर्श itself for the reason that inspite of the missing portion of the commentary for the 1st Pariccheda and 21 verses of the 2nd Pariccheda, the copyist has numbered the folios serially from 1 to 78 and secondly our MS contains scribal errors though it is neatly written, which would not have been the case, had it been a प्रथमादर्श prepared under the direct supervision of the author. Our copy appears, however, to be very old being characterized by the use of पृष्ठमान्रास.

Our commentator Jñānapramoda belonged to बृहत्खरतरगच्छ which is the 11th branch line from the main line of खरतरगच्छ.³ The commentary was composed in Samvat 1681 (= A. D. 1625) when जिनराजसूरि was the head-monk of the बृहत्खरतरगच्छ (जिनराजसूरि-विजयिराज्ये). He died in Samvat 1699 (= A. D. 1643)⁴ at Patan i. e. 18 years later. A year later i. e. in A. D. 1644 the खरतरगच्छ

1. *History of Jehangir*, p. 401.

2. *Geographical Dictionary* (Oal. Ori. Series 1927) p. 244.

3. Jinasvijaya: *Kharatara Gaccha Patīkāra Sangraha*, Calcutta, 1932, p. 36.

4. *Ibid.* Compare—“भीबृहत्खरतरगच्छनायकाः श्रीजिनराजसूरयः सं. १६४४ आषाढ मु. १ पत्ते स्वर्गमाजः तदैव सं. १६४३ मिते उ.....खरतरगच्छापित्रा etc.”

divided into several branches. The "सागरचंद्रसूरिसंतान" referred to in the colophon is the line founded by सागरचंद्राचार्य.¹ His predecessor was one जिनराजसूरि who became सूरि in Samvat 1432 (=A. D. 1376) at Patan and died in Samvat 1461 (=A. D. 1405).

The "रङ्गधीरगणिप्रवर" to which our commentator belongs has not been mentioned in the Kharatara Gaccha Paṭṭāvalis. There is, however, one रङ्गनिधान² mentioned as one of the five pre-eminent pupils of जिनचंद्रसूरि. This जिनचंद्र was born in Samvat 1595 (= A. D. 1539) and died in Samvat 1670 (A. D. 1614).

The "चन्द्रकुल"³ mentioned in verse 3 of the colophon is one of the four कुलs or families called after नागेन्द्र, चन्द्र, निर्वृति and विद्याधर who are said to have renounced the world with their families at the advice of थीवञ्चसेनाचार्य. Other सूरिS of खरतरगच्छ mentioned in verses 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 of the colophon are:—

उद्योतनसूरि⁴—He comes after नेमिचन्द्र in the Paṭṭāvali of खरतरगच्छ. He is said to have founded 84 गच्छs.

वर्द्धमानसूरि⁵—He is said to have died after installing जिनेश्वर in the line in Samvat 1088 (= A. D. 1032). He gave the title खरतर to his pupil जिनेश्वर.

जिनेश्वरसूरि⁶—He obtained the title खरतर in Samvat 1088 (= A. D. 1032) from his guru वर्द्धमान.

जिनचंद्रसूरि⁷—There are several सूरिS of this name referred to in the Kharataragaccha Paṭṭāvali but the सूरि meant here is the same as No. 41 of the Paṭṭāvali who was preceded by जिनेश्वरसूरि and succeeded by अभयदेवसूरि.

1. Ibid, p. 32.

2. Ibid, p. 35.

3. Ibid, pp. 8, 9, 18.

4. Ibid, pp. 3, 10, 20, 43.

5. Ibid, pp. 3, 10, 20, 43, 44.

6. Ibid pp. 12, 21, 43, p. 44—The story of how the title खरतर was obtained by जिनेश्वरसूरि from his guru वर्द्धमान is given in Paṭṭāvali No. 3—“एते असत्यचादिनः नस्कराः । पूर्ये खरतराः । इनि सत्यचादिनः । उक्षिः उक्षिने कोपला: इनि । ततः भी पुष्टिः खरतर विहृद् प्राप्ते”—The गच्छ was called खरतरगच्छ after this incident narrated in the Paṭṭāvali.

7. Ibid, p. 23.

The Paṭṭāvali (p. 44) records an anecdote of this Sūri according to which मोजदीन पातिसाह of Delhi, while on deathbed, mistook an attendant called खबास मोजदीन for prince मोजदीन and granted the royal arms to him. खबास मोजदीन was the son of a पिंजारक prophesied by जिनवंदसूरि to become पातिसाह. When the above mistake was pointed out to the Emperor he remarked:—“मया यद्यतं तद्दत्तमेव ! सत्युरुपवाक्यं नान्यथा स्यात्”. Thereafter the Emperor's true son was destroyed and खबास having obtained kingdom ruled as मोजदीन पातिसाहि.

अभयदेवसूरि¹—He is mentioned as 42nd Sūri in the Paṭṭāvali. No dates of this Sūri are recorded in the Paṭṭāvali. He is the author of नवांगशृङ्खि.

जिनवल्लभसूरि²—He is mentioned as the 43rd Sūri in the Kharataragaccha Paṭṭāvali. He wrote many works and became Sūri in Saṁvat 1167 (= A. D. 1111) and died six months later in Saṁvat 1168 at Citrakūṭa. About this time the first branch line of the Kharataragaccha came into existence and was called “मधुकर खरतर”.

जैनदत्त³—He is identical with जैनदत्त mentioned in the Paṭṭāvalis. The name जैनदत्त is applied to this Sūri in the खरतरगच्छसूरिपरंपरा (p. 4). He was born in Saṁvat 1132 (= A. D. 1076) and died in Saṁvat 1211 (= A. D. 1155) at Ajmere. Many anecdotes are recorded about his miraculous powers and achievements in the Paṭṭāvalis. The Sūris mentioned in the 1st line of verse 6 of the colophon under the expression “जिनादुदयराजभद्रसूरिशाः” are the following:—

जिनोदयसूरि⁴—He is 54th Sūri in the Paṭṭāvali. He was born in Saṁvat 1375 (= A. D. 1319) and died at Patan in Saṁvat 1422 (= A. D. 1366).

1. Ibid pp. 3, 10, 23, 24, 34, 45, 46.—p. 3—

चून्तिश्वके नवीन्या ललितपदयुता देवतादेशातो ये-
नव्यस्तोत्रेण येषां प्रकटनदुरभृद् भूमिनो दिव्यहसी ।

2. Ibid, pp. 3, 4, 10, 24, 46.

3. Ibid, pp. 4, 10, 11, 24-27, 29, 46-51, 53.

4. Ibid, pp. 31, 32.

जिनराजसूरि¹—He is No. 55 of the Paṭṭāvali. He became Sūri in Samvat 1432 (i. e. in A. D. 1376) at Patan and died at Devalvad in Samvat 1461 (= A. D. 1405).

जिनभद्रसूरि²—He is No. 56 of the Paṭṭāvali. He became Sūri in Samvat 1475 (= A. D. 1419) and died in Samvat 1514 (= A. D. 1458).

The Sūris mentioned in the 2nd line of verse 6 of the Colophon are:—

जिनचंद्रसूरि³—He is No. 57 in the Paṭṭāvali. He resided at Jesalmeru. He was born in Samvat 1487 (= A. D. 1431) and died in Samvat 1530 (= A. D. 1474).

जिनसमुद्रसूरि⁴—He is No. 58 in the Paṭṭāvali. He was born in Samvat 1510 (= A. D. 1450) and died at Ahmedabad in Samvat 1555 (= A. D. 1499).

जिनहंससूरि⁵—He is No. 59 in the Paṭṭāvali. He was born in Samvat 1524 (= A. D. 1468) and died at Patan in Samvat 1582 (= A. D. 1526).

The Sūris of the Kharataragaccha mentioned in verse 7 of the Colophon are:—

जिनमाणिक्यसूरि⁶—He is No. 60 of the Jain Paṭṭāvali and was born in Samvat 1549 (= A. D. 1493) and died in Samvat 1612 (= A. D. 1556).

जिनचंद्रसूरि⁷—He is No. 61 of the Jain Paṭṭāvali and was born in Samvat 1595 (= A. D. 1539). He became Sūri in Samvat 1612 (= A. D. 1556) and died in Samvat 1670 (= A. D. 1614).

जिनसिंहसूरि⁸—He is No. 62 of the Jain Paṭṭāvali. He was born in Samvat 1615 (= A. D. 1559), became Sūri in Samvat 1670 (= A. D. 1614) and died in Samvat 1674 (= A. D. 1618).

1. Ibid, p. 32.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid, p. 33.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid, p. 33.

7. Ibid, p. 34.

8. Ibid, p. 35.

जिनराजसूरि¹—This Sūri mentioned in verse 8 of the Colophon is No. 63 of the Jain Paṭṭāvali. As we have remarked above he was at the head of the ल्खतरतरगच्छ at the time² when the commentary by Jñānapramodagani was composed in Samvat 1681 (= A. D. 1625). He died in Samvat 1699 (= A. D. 1643). His parents belonged to the वोहित्यरा गोत्र. One of the pupils named सिद्धसेनगणि who belonged to the same गोत्र viz. वोहित्यरा was made Sūri by him and named जिनसागरसूरि, who is identical with जिनसागर mentioned in verse 9 of the Colophon. The branch of Kharataragaccha called the “ल्खतरतरगच्छ” began with जिनसागरसूरि³ in Samvat 1686 (= A. D. 1630).

The expression जिनराजगुणधृतभुवनरत्नसूरिपद of verse 9 of the colophon obviously refers to the fact corroborated by the Paṭṭāvalis that जिनराजसूरि installed भुवनरत्न⁴ as a Sūri in his own line. In verse 10 of the colophon we are informed that an illustrious branch of the Kharataragaccha was named after सागरचंद्रसूरि,⁵ while verse 11 states that धर्मरत्नसूरि belonged to the branch line called after सागरचंद्र. This धर्मरत्न is the same as was installed by जिनचंद्रसूरि in his line as stated in the Paṭṭāvali.⁶ Verse 12 of the colophon mentions that वल्लभ was the pupil of this धर्मरत्न. After वल्लभ comes दयाधर्मगणि and after him is mentioned श्रीशिवधर्म (verse 13). Verse 14 of the colophon introduces us to रत्नधीर who was the direct preceptor of our commentator as stated in verse 17. This preceptor रत्नधीर belonged to the line of गुणरत्नसूरि⁷. Verses 15 and 16 of the colophon contain merely laudatory description of रत्नधीर who, as we have seen above, was the immediate preceptor of our author ज्ञानप्रमोदगणि.

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid, p. 35—“सं० १६८६ आचार्यजिनसागरसूरितः लघु-आचार्यवरतर-शास्त्रा भिन्ना । अयमटमो गच्छभेदो जातः ।

3. Ibid, p. 32—the Paṭṭāvali refers to जिनराजसूरि as “भुवनरत्नाचार्य-सागरचंद्राचार्य रथापका:”

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid, p. 33.

6. Ibid. pp. 12, 33—जिनचंद्रसूरि founded the lines called after धर्मरत्न and गुणरत्न.

In the foregoing lines we have tried to identify with the help of available documents all the historical data of an important nature furnished by the only available MS of Jñānapramoda's commentary on the *Vāgbhātālāmīkūra*. It is not the object of the present paper to discuss the literary merits of the commentary in question and hence that question must be left to other scholars. Our purpose in the present study is mainly historical and more specifically chronological, as chronology is the very back-bone of all historical research.

As the present commentary furnishes its own date of composition internal evidence is of no use for purposes of chronology. Some of the references it makes to previous authors and works may, however, be noted here as the commentary is represented only by two MSS so far as we know. These references are the following :—

अभिधानचित्तामणि—folios 9, 44.

प्रभासपुराण—fol. 12,

दंडि—fol. 14,

काव्यप्रकाश—fol. 14, 33, 41.

शृत्यंतरव्याख्याने—fol. 21,

अमृशातकटीका—fol. 29, 45.

सर्वेक्षणात्रृति (on माधकाव्य)—fol. 41.

Though the commentary does not bristle with references as in the case of Mallinātha's commentaries it is quite learned in its tone and treatment.

HISTORY OF BARODA COINS : AND MINT NAMES 1766 to 1800

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History of coins struck by Gaikwads.

History of coins struck by Gaikwad rulers divides itself into two periods. The 1st period roughly begins somewhere after 1763¹ and it ends in about the year 1802. This period roughly corresponds with the reign of Emperor Shaha Alum of Delhi (1759-1806) and it covers the reigns of Sayajirao I (1773-93) and his two regents Fatesingrao alias Baba Sahib (1778-89) and Manajirao (1789-93). Govindrao's claims (1793-1800) were recognised prior to 1771. But soon they were set at naught, and they were recognised again in 1793. He died in 1800. Coins that can be unmistakably attributed to (1) Sayajirao I (2) his two regents or (3) to Govindrao are not known. But nevertheless there is ample evidence in the State records which establishes beyond doubt that coins were struck by these Gaikwad rulers except Manajirao during this period. Three copper coins struck at Baroda in the years 1802 and 1804 are in the Lahore Museum. They are of the type of Shaha Alum with a dagger and mint name of Baroda inscribed. Regnal year of Shah Alum is mentioned on them. The type of coin struck by the earlier Gaikwad rulers probably resembled the type issued by other Maratha rulers of this period. It would be appropriate to study these coins and see what information may be available from the Baroda State records. Comparative study of coins of this period issued by (1) Moghal Emperors and (2) other principal constituents of Maratha confederacy will show

(1) Vide selec. Baroda State Records Vol. I Nos. 91-92. Damaji got Sena Khas Khail, Royal Seal, a military Saranjam and rights of Sovereignty after the battle of Rakhsa-bhuwan (10-8-1763)

the type of coin then prevailing. History of Gaikwad coins from 1806 onwards is already published. Coins of this period need no reference to know their type as they are sufficiently well known. Since 1803 a remarkable change occurred in the Gaikwad coins.

The initial letter of the rulers' name such as અ for Anandrao, સા for Sayajirao and so on, as well as the initial-letter ગા of the family name Gaikwad are invariably found on these coins, after 1803. Hence they are distinguishable. Besides they are preserved in more than one museum.

Broadly speaking it may be said that the Gaikwad coins of the early period from 1763 to 1802 correspond very closely to those of Emperor Shaha Alum (1759-1806) and those from 1806 to the date of suppression of the mutiny (1858) correspond to the above coins but the name of Akbar II (1806-1837) appears on them instead of Shaha Alum's name. This type continued after the death of Akbar and his regnal year appears long after his death, even on coins of Ganpatrao (1847-56) and Khanderao (1856-71).

"The right of coinage was jealously guarded by the Moghul rulers. As their power declined, the States that arose, gradually assumed the right of striking their coins. For economic as much as for political reasons these coins were first issued of the prevailing Imperial type usually that of Shaha Alum II with the addition of a characteristic ornament or letter. But it was not until the end of the Moghal Empire that the name of the Emperor completely disappears from the coins of the States, which had long ceased to own any allegiance to him. The type continued long after the Emperor's death." (Cat. of Coins, Ind. Sec., Calcutta Museum Vol. IV, page 153). This is a sufficient authority entitling us to hold that Bahadur Shaha's name did not appear on any of the coins of Gaikwad rulers. He was reduced to the status of a Jahagirdar or State pensioner by the British. The influence of the latter was very strong at Baroda. This accounts for absence of Bahadur Shaha's name on Gaikwad coins.

Early agreements of minting operations.

The earliest agreement for striking coins is of the year 1769 (Samvat 1826) (S. R. i. e. State Records. Ex. 7). In

in this agreement there is a reference to the operations of the mint of a previous year.

Following is a rendering in brief of this agreement:—

“ Appointment for the work of Mahal mint in the town of Nasik of Parsharam Yadav Panchal, a goldsmith, on these conditions:—(1) Rupees to be credited to Khando Ganesh resident of Nasik. (2) The weight of one rupee (purchased) is $11\frac{1}{2}$ 'Masa' or 979 tolas per one thousand rupees. (3) The (new) rupee to be struck to weigh $11\frac{1}{2}$ 'Masa'. The difference of half a masa between the rupee purchased and rupee struck afresh amounts to 500 Masa per 1000 rupees. This is equivalent to 41 rupees per standard weight or $44\frac{1}{2}$ rupees according to the new standard weight. Thus rupees 1000 purchased were to be converted and restruck so as to amount to Rs. 1044-8-0.”

The surplus amount of Rs. 44-8-0 was to be distributed as follows to cover incidental expenditure of the mint:—

Rs. 4-12-0 for labour per 1000 rupees struck which included
 (a) Stamping 0-12-0 (b) making flat bars sub-
 dividing into rupee, weighing etc. Rs. 2-8-0 (c)
 Hammering 0-8-0 (d) Purshuram Chokshi
 Re. 1-0-0 (for checking etc.)

Rs. 10-0-0 Loss per 1000 rupees including commission on
 purchase of specie.

Rs. 1-8-0 Coal, charity sundries.

Rs. 4-4-0 Interest per 1000 rupees.

20-8-0

This agreement further stipulates that the balance of Rs. 24 out of Rs. 44-8 per 1000 should be remitted to Government. A clerk at Rs. 10 and a menial at Rs. 6 in all Rs. 16 per mensum were to be provided by the Government. New rupee was to be similar to the issue of the previous year. Inferior coinage was liable for punishment. Accounts of minting were to be rendered to Kamavisdar. Further, this agreement of 1769 clearly states that in the past year the charges for minting operations amounted to Rs. 38-8 against 44-8 of 1769 per Rs. 1000 struck. From this last statement it is

possible to presume that a beginning to mint coins must have been already made prior to 1769. Such new departures are usually simultaneous in occurrence with other important political events. It is therefore logical to conclude that soon after Rakhasbhowan battle in 1763 coinage might have been issued by Damajirao probably in 1766, from one of the mints out of Nasik, Chandor or Talegon Dabhade.

In the historical Selections from Baroda State Records Vol. I, 1724-1768, seal in the name Damajirao bearing full titles of a ruler appears on No. 91 dated 7-3-1763. This is a letter addressed by Damajirao to his son expressing his satisfaction at the news that the Nawab of Cambay who had invaded his districts of Petlad, Matar and Dholka was pushed back. In No. 92 dated 21-3-1763 Damaji is granted 9 Mahals in North Gujurat which form the present Mehsana District. In No. 121 of 1766 of the above Selections there is a reference to one Lad Mahomed Sikargar who was sent to Gwalior. In Ibid No. 122 dated 1766 this same Lad Mahomed Sikargar is stated to have returned from Narwar with an equipment for making armours, and he was to proceed to Ahmedabad or Kheda. Narwar was an important Mint town in the territory of Mahadaji Shindia. These references amply prove that metal polishers had arrived in Baroda from the North India and there were preparations set on foot for some campaign. In their train probably metal engravers came from Narwar. It is very curious that Maratha coins of Narwar have inscribed on them a dagger (Calcutta Museum Vol. 4 Cat. of Coins p. 315) as a mint mark similar to that on three copper coins struck at Baroda dated 42 and 44 (1801-1803) of regnal year of Shaha Alum (Coins, Lahore Museum No. 3198-99-3200). About the year 1766 coins must have been struck for the first time by Damajirao as he was then at the height of power. But the coins of 1769 according to the agreement of Nasik Mint fall beyond the reign of Damajirao.

weight of the rupee by $\frac{1}{2}$ a 'Masa.' This brought a net profit of 2·4 p. c. to the Government coffers. As the bullion was obtained by melting old silver coin there was no scope for adding more base metal and no mention is consequently made thereof in the agreement. Since no mention is made of legends or other distinguishing marks it has to be presumed that these must have been of Imperial Moghal type of Shah Alum; as indeed such was the practice in vogue elsewhere. Coins of this period struck by other Maratha rulers such as Shinde from Ujjain and Holkar from Indore are of Moghal types. There is one other noteworthy point in this agreement that requires scrutiny. The mint mentioned therein is that of Nasik. This appears to be rather curious as Gaikwad territories did not include Nasik. It is therefore necessary to explain why the coins were struck at Nasik in 1769.

The year 1769 falls within the interval during which there was a dispute for the sovereignty of Baroda between the sons of Damajirao. The dispute between Govindrao on one side and Sayajirao with his brothers Fatesingrao and Mansajirao on the other was not decided till 1772. Govindrao was a prisoner of the Peshwas at Poona, soon after the battle of Dhodhap, in 1768 and he succeeded in persuading them to acknowledge his claims to the Gadi of Baroda after agreeing to pay to the Peshwas the formidable sum of 50½ lakhs of rupees. But Fatesingrao who happened to be in Poona in 1771 obtained a reversal of this decision in favour of Sayajirao I. Fatesingrao who was in Baroda in 1768 at the time of Damajirao's death probably secured Baroda which he did not subsequently abandon (Baroda Gazetteer 1920, Messrs. Desai and Clerke, Vol. I p. 467). Nazrana from Sayajirao I to Narayanrao Peshwa is recorded in 1773 in Baroda accounts. Part of the interval between 1768 to 1773 might have passed in the name of Govindrao. The issue of a rupee from Nasik mint seems to be a matter of expediency devised for some unknown reasons. There is no mention in the agreement of 1769 of the aggregate amount of rupees to be struck. Govindrao was out of Baroda at this time and being once declared rightful claimant he might have struck coins on his way to Baroda which he could not enter. Govindrao was a partisan of Raghoba Dada who was already under

patronage of Raghoba. Perhaps these coins might have been struck to serve as a manifesto asserting Govindrao's rights to Gadi as was the usual practice observed soon after accession.

There is one copper coin in our possession which bears the regnal year 13. Besides it bears two letters गा. गा. in Nagri script. It is not clear whose regnal year it is. If it is taken as of Shah Alum then the coin corresponds to years 1771-72. If it is taken to be of Akbar II it would fall in the year 1819-20. Even after Akbar's death his regnal years were continued on Gaikwad coins. There are no Gaikwad coins bearing regnal year of Bahadur Shaha as he was a Jahagirdar of the British who exercised a strong influence in Baroda. Therefore this coin must be either of 1771-72 or 1819-20. Now there was no other Gaikwad ruler bearing the name which begins with गा than Govindrao-son of Damajirao, whose claims to Gadi were accepted about the year 1769-72. There was a claimant by name Govindrao, who came to the forefront in the year 1819-20. He was the adopted son of Fatesingrao II, the regent of Anandrao. It is unlikely that he would have struck coins. It may therefore be concluded that the coin under reference was struck by Govindrao during his first regime, i. e. 1769-72. Ganpatrao Gaikwad ruled from 1847 to 1856. His coins would bear regnal year of Akbar II which would be 40 or more. Therefore the above coin cannot be of Ganpatrao.

Agreement of 1794 for minting coins.

After 1769 the next agreement is dated 1794 (1851 Samvat). It stands in the name of a goldsmith Jasa (S. R. 13) for the mint at Baroda. In this agreement a mention is made of an enquiry conducted by Government for striking debased coins in the previous year 1793. After this inquiry it was decided to entrust operations of Baroda mint to the above said Jasa and it was agreed as follows:—

"(1) To add copper 9½ ratees in weight per rupee instead of 12 ratees as before. Rupee was to be of the type called Shiyasbahi i. e. bearing Sayajirao's marks and in all respects resembling the rupee issued during the regime of Baba Sahib (Regent Fatesingrao Gaikwad 1778-89). For breach of contract,

“a penalty of Rs. 10,000/- was stipulated. The contract was to run from the 1st of the month of Kartik for 12 months, i. e. from about November 1794 to November 1795. It was also stipulated in the agreement to remit Rs 42001 to Haribhakti Parekh in instalments. Government was to issue a note (Sanad) in favour of Jasa for purchase of silver in Baroda, Surat or Bombay, out of which 2/3rds was to be retained for Baroda mint and 1/3rds was to be retained for Kheda mint.”

A similar enquiry was made in connection with the working of the mint of Fort Kheda (S. R. 19) which was entrusted under contract to a goldsmith Ramchandra alias Kaka. Here too it was ordered at the end of the enquiry (i) to add at the rate of 10½ ratees of copper per rupee instead of 13 ratees as before, (ii) to mint Rs. 6 less per 1000 of Shiyashahi. This agreement was for the same period, i. e. 1794-95 for a sum of Rs. 20001 and the amount was to be remitted to Haribhakti.

Following facts are revealed by these two agreements taken together:—(1) There were at least two mints, one at Baroda and the other at Kheda in the year 1793-94 and 1794-95. (2) Silver (pure) was to be purchased at Bombay, Surat or Baroda. (3) The coin was to be of the type of Shiyashahi, which implied that the issue was to be similar in all respects to that issued in the name of Sayajirao I during the regency of Fatesingrao. Shiyashahi coins must have been struck therefore between the years 1778-89. In the agreement of the year 1769 there is no mention of the addition of base metal because the rupee was to be restruck to the reduced weight in order that minting should bring profit by way of royalty, without any cost to Government. In other respects the rupee of 1769 was similar in type to what may have been issued by Maratha rulers. This type was predominantly Moghal.

It may also be concluded that Shiyashahi rupee mentioned in these two agreements of 1794-95 was issued by the Gaikwad rulers as their own coin and a beginning must have been made to issue coins some years before 1794. Fatesingrao the Regent died on the 1st of December 1789. He had reached the zenith of his power in 1783. After the treaty of Salbai in 1783 the Gaikwads became virtually independent of the Peshwas.

and their connection with the British began to grow more intimate. It may be that with increased importance as well as due to facilities for obtaining silver in the market through the British agency at Surat and Bombay it became profitable to strike silver coins at Baroda from bullion instead of melting specie and restriking coins. It is clear beyond doubt that between the years 1763 and 1793 the Gaikwad rulers carried minting operations which were in the process of evolution.

Agreements of 1796.

Two more agreements are on record which were executed in the year 1796 (Samvat 1853)—one for the mint of Baroda and the other for the mint of Kheda. Both are practically analogous and similar to the two agreements on record dated 1794 retaining the usual difference in the proportion of base metal in the rupee issued from Kheda, which stood at one ratee higher than the issue of Baroda rupee. The agreement for the mint of Baroda is interesting as it is the outcome of a petition addressed by Kaka Soni to Shrimant Anandrao Samsher Bahadur in which he says "The mint of Kheda was entrusted to me, and that of Baroda to Jasa Soni. These were worked jointly by us. But this joint working was not profitable. Hence out of my own free choice I have agreed (now) to undertake the work of the mint of Baroda for minting rupees to the amount of Rs. 2700/- The mixture of base metal per rupee to be $9\frac{1}{2}$ ratees."

A similar petition was filed by Jasa for the working of Kheda mint in which the mixture of base metal was to be $10\frac{1}{4}$ ratees, and the total weight of the rupee was to be 27 vals.

Since these petitions are dated in the year 1796 and a change is solicited the mint of Baroda during the previous years i.e. 1795-96 must have been leased to Jasa Soni and that of Kheda to Kaka Soni.

In the year 1803 (Samvat 1860) an agreement is signed by Valabh Bhagwandas Soni in which the mint of Petlad is mentioned for the first time. Kheda was transferred to the British on the 5th of May 1803. Therefore it ceased to be a mint of Gaikwad rulers. Total weight of the rupee to be

issued from Petlad was stipulated to be $29\frac{1}{2}$ vals according to Baroda weights, out of which silver was to be 26 vals. The merchants of Baroda were to supply bullion in equal parts to the mints at Petlad and Baroda. The lease on trial for one month was to be given to the said Soni and if successful it was to be extended for a period of further 12 months. The rupee was to be Amshahi-Anashahi i. e. in the name of Anandrao. This is the first mention of Anashahi rupee on record.

An agreement for the lease of the Baroda mint for the year 1804 and 1805 (Samvat 1861) in the name of Trikambhakti Soni stipulates the total weight of the rupee to be $29\frac{1}{2}$ vals equivalent to a weight of 11 mase out of which silver was to be 26 vals according to Baroda weights. The lease was for an amount of Rs. 20,000/-. One Haribhai Bhaichand Parekh stood as guarantee. The rupee was to be Martandshahi. What was exactly meant by the term Martandshahi is not clearly stated. But by analogy it might be inferred that Martandshahi rupees had on them inscribed the letter **મ** in Nagari script. Anashahi rupees, which came into existence about the same time had inscribed on them the letter **અ** which was the first alphabet of the ruler's name. Martandshahi rupees implied an issue in the name of the family deity of the rulers of Baroda as an act of piety.

Mint of Sankheda.

A new mint (S. R. 24) was opened at Sankheda in 1804 (Samvat 1861). Sankheda came in the possession of Gaikwads along with Savli and Dabhoi in lieu of Ahmedabad transferred to the British in 1803. An agreement with a goldsmith Chatur Tapidas resident of Baroda is in the State records. He was to remit by monthly instalments of Rs. 1000/- an aggregate sum of Rs. 12000/- in the year. The rupee issue of Sankheda was to contain 26 vals of silver and its total weight was to be full 11 mase according to Baroda weights. Silver bullion and rials (Spanish rials which the Portuguese issued in India) were to be purchased from Baroda. One Sakaram Chimmaji was to supervise work of the mint. The rupee issued from Sankheda mint was to be similar to that of Baroda in all respects.

The British rupee had 3 grains on an average less of silver than Baroda rupee. (Selections from Correspondence on Baroda currency Vol. I). Baroda rupees struck by Govindrao in 1796 had 26 vals of silver which was equivalent to 156.26 grains. The rupee struck in the mofussil mints had six grains less of silver. In 1811-12 during Anandrao's reign the silver per rupee was 25½ vals, i. e. 153.25 grains in weight.

Names of mint—towns in Baroda.

Gaikwad mints existed in Baroda, Kheda, Petlad and Sankheda. From the agreement for conducting mint operations dated 1769 (S. R. 7) quoted before, Gaikwad rulers seem to have some connection with the mint at Nasik. This mint was opened in 1766 under orders of Madhavrao Peshwa (diary of Madhavrao Peshwa selections, Wad and Joshi, Vol. VII page 297). This mint in all likelihood issued coins for Damajirao in about 1766 and for Govindrao during 1769 to 1772. Besides these other mints existed at (1) Nawsari (2) Amreli and (3) Dabhoi. In the year 1836 letter No. 321 addressed by the resident to the Baroda Government (S. R. No. 76) ran as follows :—

"Arrangements made to issue small coin from the mint of Fort Nawsari should be stopped. Vide letter of the previous year (1835) which remains unrepplied. Thereupon Gopal Mairal, Sar Subha Athavishi was addressed to suspend issuing small copper coins from Nawsari mint. This mint must have existed prior to 1835. It cannot be said with any accuracy when it first struck coins. State Records reference dated 1852 (S. R. 54) mentions besides the mints of Baroda and Petlad that of Dabhoi. Dabhoi came into the possession of Gaikwad along with Sawli and Sunkheda in 1803. Dabhoi being more important than Sunkheda, mint at the latter might have been transferred to the former in about 1805. Among the papers relating to mints there are documents dated 1829 bearing references to the effect that other mints for small copper coins should be closed as the one in the city of Baroda has commenced working (S. R. 62 and 64). Unfortunately names of these other mints are not mentioned. Babashabi (Gaikwadi) copper coins now in Watson Museum, Rajkote, are distinct by themselves and they appear to have been issued from some place

in Kathiawad and in all likelihood from Amreli. These coins are ornate and they are fine specimens of craftsmanship. Besides there is usually the letter અ on these coins like those of their States of Kathiawad such as Junagad and Nawansagar, Kachha etc. Besides, the coins have as mint mark (1) dagger (2) scimitar (3) elephant (4) long leaf (5) flag (6) streamers etc. singly or in combination and such other ornaments which are well-drawn. Impressions of these coins were sent here by Mr. Gadre, Curator, Watson Museum Rajkot. There are two coins of copper in my possession also. Name of the mint is quite legible on them. This is unmistakably Amreli. There is no doubt that there was a mint at Amreli.

The rulers of Baroda issued rupees with Ankush as mint mark from Ahmedabad jointly with the Peshwas from 1753 to 1803 and independently by the Gaikwads upto 1817. After 1803 letter અ was added to distinguish them as Gaikwad issue. A reference is already made to the mint of Nawsari. One Mancherji Desai of Nawsari was the first person in the Baroda State who obtained a guarantee for personal safety from the British Government. As early as 1793 Govindrao Gaikwad requested Mr. Griffith, Chief of Surat, to give Mancherji his assurance for his safety from oppression. The Nawsari mint seems to have been closed some time after 1836 (Baroda Gaz Desai and Clerke, vol. I page 552).

TWO LINES IN RĀJĀ SAMBHĀJI'S OWN HAND.

(Prof. D. V. POTDAR)

The question of the literacy of Shivaji Maharaj naturally evokes a very wide interest. Dearth of documentary material has rendered a satisfactory solution of the question very difficult.

One of the surest approaches to the solution would in my opinion be found by a careful examination of reliable documents where we have autograph writings of contemporary kings and the predecessors and successors of Shivaji. In this note I will confine myself only to the latter part of this examination and that too a very brief one.

We have to-day in our possession a few official letters of Maloji, Shahaji, Jijabai, Parsoji and other elderly members of Shivaji's house. But except perhaps, in the case of one letter of Shahaji, we cannot say we are able to see autograph-writing anywhere. Other evidences of a circumstantial nature are strong enough, though not conclusive, showing that Shahaji, the father of Shivaji, could read and write not only Marathi but Sanskrit. But for the present this basis cannot be regarded as a sure foundation for us to build up our conclusions about Shivaji's ability to write. However, we are more fortunate in possessing documents where we get the autograph-writings of Sambhaji, Shivaji's son, and of Shahu, his grandson.

This direct documentary evidence about the autograph writing of Sambhaji is what I want to put forward in this note.

This document was secured in Konkan where Sambhaji carried on his campaigns for many years.

It is a dānpatra or a gift-deed and it records presents and gifts bestowed by the Raja on a learned Brahmin of the Bakare family on the coronation day.

It is not yet fully published by me. This document may be regarded as unique being the only one of its kind. Copies of other Sanskrit gift-deeds of Sambhaji were published by the late

Rao Bahadur Parasnus, some years back, but the originals have not become available yet.

In this Dānpatra, Sambhaji imitates the practice and style of the old Hindu Kings in India when they made gifts on auspicious occasions. This fact may be taken to illustrate the desire of Sambhāji to stand forth as the champion of Hindu revival, started under his illustrious father.

There are a number of points of great interest in the document which merit the attention of scholars but here I will confine myself to only one item.

This document bears *two lines in Raja Sambhaji's own hand* at the top.

The lines read

मते मे श्री शिवराजपुत्रस्य शंभुराजछत्रपते : यद्योपरिलेसितम् ॥

Translation :—

"What follows in writing is approved of by me, Shambhuraj Chhatrapati, the son of Shri Shivaji" The whole document is written in one hand by the scribe in his beautiful distinct hand.

At the end the Amatya and the Sachiv write their official sanctions in their own hands.

In the left hand corner we have the Dānadhiksha Panditrao—the Sadr-i-Sudur—of the Mahratta Court recording his approval in his own hand in modi.

And at the top we have the two lines of Sambhaji. We can easily and unmistakably distinguish the different hand-writings. The Amatya (अमात्य) the Sachiv (सचिव) and the Dānādhiksha (दानाधिक्षा) write in Modi (i. e. shikishta Marathi) character whereas the scribe and Sambhaji writes in fine Balbodh (Marathi Nastalique). The scribe writes continuous and connected whole lines without marking off words and phrases whereas the Raja while writing separates the letters and phrases.

The lettering also shows a distinct and different hand. While the lines of the Raja speak of his approval in the first person. Such a convincing proof is fortunately rarely available. Hence the find is unique.

SUMMARIES OF PAPERS.

AKBAR'S RELIGIOUS POLICY.

BY

PROF. SRI RAM SHARMA, M. A., F. R. Hist. S. (LONDON)
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So far the question of Akbar's Religious Policy has usually been mixed up with that of his own religious opinions, with the result that the latter have overshadowed the former. An attempt is made herein to study Akbar's Religious Policy as distinct from his religious opinions and beliefs. Original authorities in Persian (published and MSS.), Sanskrit and Hindi, Jesuit authorities in translations, Accounts of the English Travellers have all been studied anew with a view to ascertain what Akbar's Religious Policy was. The examination of all this material proves that Akbar's toleration was all-embracing and did not exclude, as previous writers have suggested, the Muslims and that it was, like the toleration granted by the British in India today, limited by humanitarian and administrative considerations. Akbar did not stop at granting toleration alone to the religious opinions of all shades of his subjects. He allowed them equally to take a share in the administration of the country. A comparison of the higher military commands held by the Hindus and the higher administrative posts filled by them under Akbar with the number of Indians occupying the same or similar position in India today, proves that Akbar was more liberal. The influences that worked on Akbar's mind are examined as also the question of Akbar's renouncing Islam and persecuting it.

LACHIT BARPULKAN.

A great Assamese Contemporary of Shivaji Maharaja,
and the successful antagonist of the Mogul
General Raja Ram Singha of Amber.

PROF. S. K. BHUYAN, Gauhati, Assam

At the time when Shivaji Maharaja thwarted Mogul Imperialism in the Deccan, a great hero rose in Assam who inflicted a crushing blow to Emperor Aurangzeb's ambition to unfurl the Mogul banner in the remote corners of eastern India. This was Lachit Barphukan, the national hero of the Assamese and the vanquisher of the Mogul forces led by Raja Ram Singha, son of Mirja Raja Jai Singha of Amber. After Ram Singha's humiliation at the Mogul court for alleged connivance at the escape of Shivaji Maharaja and Guru Teg Bahadur, Ram Singha was deputed to Assam to recover Gauhati from the Ahoms. This deputation was intended by Aurangzeb as a punishment for Ram Singha's remissness in the discharge of his imperial duties. Previously to this, in 1667, Lachit Barphukan had wrested back western Assam, with headquarters at Gauhati, from the Moguls, who had been in occupation of it since the treaty with Mir Jumla in January 1663. Raja Ram Singha was lured into the war-zone of Gauhati surrounded by fortified and well garrisoned hills and ramparts on all sides, with the mighty Brahmaputra flowing in between. Ram Singha, encamped on the outskirts of the ring of fortifications, opened negotiations with Lachit Barphukan for the restoration of Gauhati. The Ahoms did not yield an inch of their ground, but maintained at the same time professions of friendship. Sporadic fightings attended by no decisive result continued during 1670. The Assamese army under the generalship of Lachit Barphukan rose to the highest pitch of discipline and efficiency. Any indication of slackness and delinquency was sternly and promptly suppressed. The army were determined to a man to crush the Mogul forces. Ram

Singha attempted to corrupt the Ahom officials by bribery and presents, and to bring disunion amongst the commanders. The Ahom army were earnest, patriotic and bereft of all luxuries. They knew their commander and country alone. Ram Singha was taken to task by Emperor Aurangzeb for delayed stay in Assam, without any positive achievement. Being impelled by the Emperors' censures Ram Singha attempted to enter Gauhati by boats with detachments of Rajput cavalry for which they had to cross the river near Kamakshya. Lachit Barphukan seized with high fever issued out of his base, boarded his flagship, and ordered a simultaneous attack on the Mogul fleet. Ram Singha's boats were sunk and destroyed and his soldiers killed, and he left the precincts of Gauhati with a meagre remnant of his army. The Rajput Raja halted at the frontier Mogul garrison at Rangamati waiting for opportunities to re-invade Assam. This battle is known as the battle of Saraighat, and is regarded in Assamese traditions as their Thermopyla and Marathon. It took place in 1671 A. D. Jai Singha had seduced Shivaji Maharaja to Agra; his son Ram Singha adopted his father's tact and diplomacy in dealing with Assam. It is to the everlasting credit of Lachit Barphukan that whereas Jai Singha succeeded with Shivaji Maharaja his son failed with the great Assamese General. Ram Singha said at the conclusion of the war with Assam—"Glory to the King! Glory to the Counsellors! Glory to the Commander! Glory to the Country! One single individual leads all the forces! Even I, Ram Singha being personally on the spot do not find loophole and opportunity. I should be thrashed by sweepers with their broomsticks if I reappear in Assam."

Lachit Barphukan died soon after the battle of Saraighat. It is said that Ram Singha during his stay in Assam received the news of Emperor Aurangzeb's attempt to humiliate his son Kishori Singha. Shaista Khan, Governor of Bengal, was himself lukewarm about Ram Singha's success in the Assam expedition. The anniversary of Lachit Barphukan is held all over Assam to commemorate his meteoric greatness.

HISTORICAL MATERIAL IN MIR'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

BY PROFESSOR B. D. VERMA, M. A., M. F., A. F.,
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Mir Tagi Mir was a great Urdu poet of his age. He is called the 'Father of the Urdu Lyrical Poetry'. He wrote his autobiography in Persian and it is named the "Zikr-i-Mir". As the poet lived in the most chaotic period of the Mughal History, the Fall of the Mughal Empire, we come across a wealth of information about the movements of the different contending parties of the great catastrophe. The poet was an eyewitness of most of the events which he has described in his pathetic style. The intrigues which were working havoc at the Mughal court, the invasions of Ahmad Shah Durrani, the tactics of Najib-u'd-Daulah, the manœuvres of the Deccani Sardars, the story of Rajput valour, and the stubbornness of the Jats, has been described with the precision of a diarist. Some facts are such as are not to be found in any contemporary history.

The account of the fall of Delhi and the massacre of the inhabitants at the greedy hands of the conquerors have been painted with a bloody pen. There is a passage which throws fresh light on the decisive battle of Panipat, and its participants.

The book ends with the end of the Mughal Empire when Ghulam Qadir blinded Shah Alam and the Marathas overran the country.

Although the poet has referred to the events of nearly sixty years (About 1740 to 1800) he has been very parsimonious in giving the dates of the different events. With all its defects the autobiography is a hitherto unexplored useful historical find.

DURRANI INFLUENCE IN NORTHERN INDIA DURING THE DECAY OF THE MOGHAL EMPIRE.

BY
REV. H. HERAS, S. J.

The history of the Durrani influence in northern India is of extraordinary interest to understand well the decline of the Mughal Empire and the successive growth of the power of the East India Company.

The first time Ahmad Shah Durrani invaded Hindustan the Mughal Imperial army checked his advance successfully. Yet subsequent events led to a double alliance, one by marriage and another politically, between the Afghan king and the Mughal Emperor. The battle of Panipat was the effect of this political alliance. After the victory of Panipat, Ahmad Shah Durrani actually was the Shahan Shah not only of Afghanistan but even of Hindustan, when the lawful Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II could not strike coin bearing his name nor order the *khutba* to be read in his name before Ahmad Shah allowed him to do so. The influence of the Durrani monarch continued in Northern India up to his death. All the eyes were always turned towards Afghanistan whenever a new danger appeared on the political sky of Hindustan.

Durrani influence suffered a setback with the succession of Timur Shah to the Afghan throne. Ahmad Shah's son was not a conqueror of thrones and preferred the easygoing life of the court to the strenuous exercise of a military campaign.

Totally different was his son Zaman Shah who would easily have resuscitated the glories of his grandfather in Hindustan but for his cruel tendencies and for the ambitions of his brothers fostered by no less ambitious courtiers and even by the British from India. During his time the Muslims in India looked at Zaman Shah as the Saviour of Islam in India and the British feared him as a real menace to the prosperity of their business.

in India. His relations with Tipu Sultan, with the deposed Nawab of Oudh, Vazir Ali, and the brother of the Nawab of Dacca, and his probable alliance with Napoleon Bonaparte, cause great fear among British authorities, both at home and in India. The storming of Seringpatam and the consequent death of Tipu Sultan was partially effected by the wish to destroy his influence in Southern India; while the treaties signed with Fathe Shah, King of Persia were also caused in order to put a barrier between Afghanistan and the French. All this finally led to the downfall of Zaman Shah.

Similar fate awaited Shah Sujah, the most capable among the descendants of Ahmed Shah Durrani. The internal troubles of Afghanistan were the cause of the ruin of the Duranni influence in Hindustan. Ranjit Singh who set his throne upon the fragments of the Duranni power in Northern India enlarged his revenue and even his territory at the expense of the Barakzai Sirdars when no member of the Sadukzai family occupied the throne of Kabul.

The end of the influence of the Durranis in Northern India was finally reached when a power of Northern India commenced influencing Afghan politics. Such was the effect of the first Afghan War when Shah Sujah was enthroned at Kabul through the military help rendered by the British nation.

AMIR KHAN'S ACTIVITIES IN RAJPUTANA.

BY

DR. K. R. QANUNGO, PH. D., DACCA UNIVERSITY.

1. Introductory.

Amirkhan's ancestry and boyhood—His early adventures—Anecdotes illustrative of his character—Amir in the service of a Baroda officer—his exploits in the service of Rajah Durjansal Khichi—Amir in the service of Bala Rao Inglia—Amir's part in the civil wars in Bhopal.—Holkar's alliance with Amir—his plot to murder Amir.

2. Amir's responsibility in the tragic death of Krishna Kumari of Mewar.

3. Amir's part in the war between Amber and Jodhpur.

4. Amir murders Sangi Indraraj and the *guru* of Maharajah Man of Jodhpur at the instance of the Rani and the heir-apparent of Jodhpur.

WELLESLEY AND CEYLON

BY

PROF. T. J. GEORGE.

This is a short article dealing with influence of the Napoleonic menace on the frontier policy of Wellesley, particularly in his relations with Ceylon. The problem of Ceylon loomed large in the Anglo-Indian administrative horizon then. Previously, the affairs of Ceylon used to be managed without any connection with the general policy of the Government of India. Wellesley wanted to change that and to bring about a unity of control in all matters relating to the interests of the different British possessions in the East. From the administrative, from the military, and from the diplomatic points of view, Wellesley urged on the home authorities the supreme importance of subordinating the policy of Ceylon Government to that of the Government of India. In the following pages an attempt is made to deal with some of the motives which influenced the outlook and conduct of Wellesley's administration in its relations with Ceylon.

OTHER PAPERS

In response to our invitation we received a fairly large number of papers. All of them could not be read. Preference was naturally given to those writers who were present at Poona. Summaries were not sent in by all. Some of those which had been received have been printed here. Some papers after being read remained with the writers. Owing to various considerations which need not be detailed here, we regret we could not do more justice to this very important section here.

Subjoined is a list of the unpublished papers:—

- (1) The Forgotten kingdom of Vatikanagar
by Mr. P. H. Thatte, Nasik.
- (2) Sikh Confederate Feudalism and British Imperialism
late in the 18th century—
by Prof. N. K. Sinha, M. A., Lecturer, University,
Calcutta.
- (3) Maratha Raids in Gujrat in the Regime of Aurang-
zebe and after—
by Mr. Jal Pestonji Birdy, M. A., Cama Athornan
Institute, Andheri.
- (4) Epic of Gangaji Naik—
by G. G. Naik, Bombay.
- (5) A Note on the Satara Museum—
Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale, Satara.
- (6) The New Film Process for copying Documents—
by Mr. Trivedi, Govt. Photo-copying Dept, Poona.
- (7) The Genesis of Islamic Liberalism in India—
by Prof. S. R. Sharma, M. A., Poona.
- (8) Imperialism of the Sultans of Delhi—
by Mr. Anilchandra Bannerjee, M. A., Calcutta.

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Accommodation :—The authorities of the Sir Parashurambhau College of the Shikshana Prasarak Mandali, Poona, very willingly co-operated with the organisers by handing over to them the spacious Lady Ramabai Assembly Hall, the hostels and the ground floor of the magnificent central building of the Sir P. B. College. The Trustees of the Tilaka Smarak Mandir, equally kindly placed their beautiful buildings at our disposal for the purposes of the Historical Exhibition. As all these buildings are situated within a stone's throw from the B.I.S. Mandal, everything became so convenient—the offices, the delegates' lodgings, the Exhibition, the meeting-hall, all being within the same area. The European style delegates were accommodated in the Anglo-Urdu High School in the Camp. The authorities of these buildings richly deserve all the thanks so sincerely offered to them by all delegates and visitors.

The Sessions :—The programme of the meetings for the three days—8th-9th-10th of June 1935—was all carried out according to plan by the co-operation of all concerned. Copies of the same are printed and attached at the end of this part. The gathering on the opening day was a grand spectacle as in the assembly were to be seen distinguished scholars gathered from all the four corners of India, representatives of many Universities, Institutions, States and Governments, besides a large body of leading citizens of Poona. The attendance was full even for sectional meetings, where papers were read. Some discussion also took place at the time, particularly when Dr. Balkrishna and Prof. C. B. Joshi read their papers. Nabab Abdul Ali was voted to the chair at the time of the reading of papers and he was partly relieved by Dr. S. N. Sen of Calcutta. The *resolutions placed before the meeting by the Working Committee* as also those of such private members as R.B. G. S. Sirdesai and Khan Bahadur Prof. Shaik Sarfraz, both of whom could not be present at the time, were discussed at length. A copy of the resolutions that were adopted ultimately by the house, together with a copy of the draft constitution, is printed herewith and attached at the end.

No progress could be made with the work of the committees appointed so far and the work will now have to be continued

afresh at our Allahabad Sessions, where the conference was invited to meet by Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan, the President.

Exhibition:—A historical exhibition with a section for Publications was arranged. Detailed lists of exhibits are published elsewhere. Mr. S. V. Joshi, Engineer kept on view a large clay model of a part of Maharashtra which was greatly appreciated. Stereoscopic views of important places in Maharashtra were lent by the N. M. Vidyalaya Marathi Shala. The Exhibition was a very great success.

Finances:—The Working Committee sent appeals of help to a large number of States, Provincial Governments and Universities. What little success attended these efforts can be seen from the list of donations printed on another page. Our sincere thanks go out to all our donors. Besides donors, we had 132 members of the Reception Committee and over 50 delegates. Lists of the same are printed herewith. These include scholars from all parts of India such as Assam, the Punjab, Bengal, Madras, Gujarat, C. P. (Berar), U. P.; Gwalior, Baroda, Indore, and Portuguese India. Thus it was a truly All India Gathering, learned and representative.

The management was extremely economical; there was practically no paid agency employed; no rents paid, no conveyance expenses incurred as is usually necessary for such big conferences. Yet enough money was not left to meet the Press bill for this volume. If we could have approached a larger number of men than we were able to do, we feel confident the sympathy aroused was so great that more money could have been collected without much difficulty. We trust we can still count on such support.

Other functions:—In association with the Congress was organised the first Bombay Presidency History Teaching Conference in our Hall. The Conference was inaugurated by the Hon'ble the Minister of Education, Bombay and was presided over by Dr. Balkrishna of Kolhapur on 7th June 1935. The delegates of the teaching conference were given facilities to attend the deliberations of the Congress, so that a large body of History Teachers was brought into useful contact with noted scholars in the field.

Advantage was taken of the presence at the Congress of a large number of the members of the Indian Historical Records Commission. An informal meeting was arranged and it was decided to request the Government of India to revive the annual sessions of the Commission.

Similarly a separate Exhibition of Historical Books and Publications was arranged. Quite a large number of such books were received through their publishers for this Section. Thus a good beginning was made to bring together Authors and Publishers.

Two Tea Parties were arranged, in honor of the distinguished scholars and guests assembled, one by the Raja Saheb of Bhor, the Chairman of the Reception Committee on the open grounds of the Sir P. B. College, and the other by the Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala Poona on its premises nearby.

Three lectures, including one lantern lecture, were arranged and were greatly appreciated.

For the entertainment of delegates, the singing of old Marhatta Ballads by local Gondhales was arranged. Sardar Abasaheb Mujumdar gave a demonstration with the help of some musical instruments.

The plan to visit hill-forts could not be successful as monsoon showers were expected every moment.

Thanks:—It is impossible to mention all those whose co-operation and help made the First All India Modern History Congress such a unique success. First come our Donors (Vide list attached). Then the Government of Bombay who kindly issued circulars (Printed in Bulletin No. 3) and the other Provincial Governments who did likewise. The Inter University Board also showed its sympathy. His Excellency Lord Brabourne who inaugurated the Congress and Sir Shafaat, Dr. Aiyangar, Nabab Abdul Ali, and Dr. S. N. Sen who presided at various meetings, the three lecturers, the scholars who read papers and took part in the deliberations and all the representatives and delegates who lent the Congress a real All India status, can not adequately be thanked. The Bombay University sanctioned a grant of Rs. 250. The States of Bhor, Baroda, Gwalior and

Ichalkaranji sent representatives and those of Bhor, Jamkhandi, Phaltan and Ichalkaranji gave financial aid. The Sir P. B. College authorities, the Trustees of the Tilak Smarak Mandir and Khan Bahadur M. Hidayetulla, Headmaster, Anglo-Urdu High School placed their buildings at our disposal. The Maharastriya Mandal and the Islam Scouts gave a demonstration of physical and martial feats. The help rendered by Date Brothers, Shamiana Contractors, was valuable.

Last but not least come the Volunteers and local Scouts who rendered very useful service in a variety of ways.

The Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandal, was in fact our home and hence no wonder we extracted all help they could give as a matter of right.

Our most heartfelt thanks are due to all, for, whatever success we may have achieved is theirs as well.

Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka
Mandal Mandir, 313 Sadashiv
Peth, Poona.

DATTO VAMAN POTDAR.
Hon. General Secretary,
A. I. M. C.

MESSAGES

1. H. E. The Viceroy of India, Simla.
2. H. E. The Governor of Bengal, Darjeeling.
3. H. H. The Maharaja of Mysore, Mysore.
4. H. H. The Maharana of Udaipur, Udaipur.
5. H. H. The Maharaja of Kolhapur, Kolhapur.
6. H. H. The Maharaja of Jodhpur, Jodhpur.
7. H. H. The Maharaja Jam Sahib of Nawanagar,,
Jamnagar..
8. Shri Kshatra Jagadguru, Kolhapur.
9. H. H. The Raja of Sawantwadi, Camp Amboli.
10. H. H. The Maharaja Thakore Saheb, Gondal.
11. H. H. The Maharaja of Dharampur, Dharampur.
12. H. H. The Nawab Sahib of Janjira, Janjira.
13. H. H. The Raja Sahib of Sangli, Sangli.
14. H. H. The Ruler of Sandur, Sandur.
15. H. H. The Thakor Sahib of Dhrol, Dhrol.
16. Shri Raja Sahib of Phaltan, Mahabaleshwar.
17. Shri Raja Sahib of Jamkhandi, Jamkhandi.
18. The Nawab of Jaora, Jaora.
19. Rana Bhagat Chand Bhadur, Raja of Jubbal, Punjab.
20. Shrimant Pant Saheb Pratinidhi, Raja of Aundh.
21. Shrimant Babasheb Ghorapade, Chief of Ichalkaranji.
22. Thakore Shree, Varsoda, Sabarkantha, Agency.
23. Sardar Nawab Narsingji, Thakor of Amod.
24. The Chief of Torgal, Kolhapur.
25. Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, Vice-chancellor, University,,
Bombay.
26. Mr. S. V. Chakravarti, Vice-chancellor, Annamalai
University.
27. Dr. Zia-ud-Din, Vice-chancellor, University, Aligarh.
28. Mr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee, Vice-chancellor, Univer-
sity, Calcutta.
29. Justice B. S. Niyogi, Vice-chancellor, University,-
Nagpur..
30. Dr. P. Basu, Vice-chancellor, University, Agra.

31. Rai Bahadur Sen, Registrar, University, Delhi.
32. Sir Mirza Ismail, Diwan, Mysore.
33. Sir Muhammad Yusuf, Daryanagar.
34. Sir Phiroze Sethna, Bombay.
35. The Hon'ble B. G. Khaparde, Minister, C. P. and Berar.
36. Mr. Syed Khurshed Ali, Director Daftar, H. E. H.
Nizam's Government.
37. The Mayor, Municipal Corporation, Karachi.
38. Mr. V. N. Mehta, Revenue Minister, Government of
Jammu and Kashmir.
39. Mr. M. S. Anye, B. A., B. L., Yeotmal.
40. Shrimant P. J. Desai Hangandikar, Hangandi.
41. Sardar Thorat, Ahmednagar.
42. Sardar Babasaheb Panditrao, Satara.
43. Bar. V. P. Vaidya, Bombay.
44. Mr. Tatyasaheb Pangal, Kolhapur.
45. Dr. Jyotindra Mehta, Baroda.
46. Dr. Bhattacharya, Baroda.
47. Sardar C. S. Angria, Gwalior.
48. Mr. S. G. Warty, Jogeshwari, Bombay.
49. Mr. G. D. Parasnus, B. A., Secy., Historical Museum,
Satara
50. Mr. E. N. Subrahmanyam, M. A., Madanapalle.
51. Mr. Pandurangrao V. Joshi, High Court Vakil,
Hyderabad Deccan.
52. Mr. S. S. Deo, B.A., LL B., Satkaryottejak Sabha, Dhulia.
53. Mr. R. Subba Rao, Govt. Arts College, Rajamahendry.
54. Pandit Surya Narayan Vyas, Ujjayini.
55. Mr. V. S. Bakhale, Hon. Secy., Historical Society,
Satara.
56. Mr. Fransisco A. W. Da Silva, President,
Institute Vasco Da Gama, Nova Goa.
57. Mr. S. G. Pathare, Pathare Khatriya Historical
Society, Worli.
58. Mr. A. D. Parasnus, Happy Vale, Satara.
59. The American Consul—Bombay.
60. The German Consul—Bombay.

ALL INDIA MODERN HISTORY CONGRESS, POONA 1935.

Resolutions.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted in the General meeting on 10th June 1935, after a prolonged discussion in which Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, Prof. Potdar, Rev. Father Heras, Dr. Bannerjee and other delegates took part. After a good deal of discussion it was decided that the word 'Modern' limiting the Scope of the Congress be dropped hereafter. The resolutions standing in the name of Rao Bahadur Sardesai and Khan Bahadur Sarfraz, both of whom were not present at the time, were also considered.

Proposed by D. V. Potdar Poona and Seconded by Dr. S. K. Banerjee Lucknow :—

(1) Resolved that in view of the very excellent work done by the Indian Historical Records Commission in the past, the Government of India be requested to take immediate steps to revive its sessions in future.

Proposed by Prof. D. V. Potdar, Poona and Seconded by Rev. Father Heras, Bombay :—

(2) Resolved that a representative Committee be formed to lay down broad and common lines about the place and scope of studies in Indian History in the courses of the various Indian Universities.

Proposed by Prof. D. V. Potdar, Poona and Seconded by Dr. S. K. Banerjee, Lucknow :—

(3) Resolved that the Provincial and Central Governments and Indian States do take early steps to preserve old temples, graves, cemeteries, samadhis, taquias, tombs, and such other objects of historical importance, extending if necessary the scope of their Archeeological departments to more modern times so as to include works belonging to the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and recognising competent private agencies also to do such work.

Proposed by Prof. D. V. Potdar, Poona and Seconded by Rev. Father Heras:—

(4) Resolved that in the opinion of this Congress it is necessary that historical Records like those in the Peshava Daftar wherever existing, should be put in charge of expert archivists so that their preservation, classification, listing and publication, utilisation by scholars and other cognate matters shall be properly ensured.

Proposed by Dr. S.K. Aiyangar, Madras (original proposals from R. B. Sardesai) and seconded by Rev. Father Heras, Bombay:—

(5) That this Congress thanks the Government of Bombay for the publication of the Selections from the Peshwa Dafta and for facilities afforded to scholars to study them and recommends the publication of the Residency records with them. It further recommends the appointment of expert archivists for the same and that no records should be destroyed without consulting experts in the matter.

Proposed (Standing in the name of Mr. V. S. Bendre) by Prof. C. Srinivasachari, Annamalai and seconded by Prof. T. G. George, Trichur, Cochin.

(6) Resolved that in order to place the All India Modern History Congress on a permanent basis.

(a) An Association be established and registered under the Societies' Act.

(b) The aims and objects of the Association shall be to promote research in Indian History on scientific lines, to coordinate the work of the different agencies-public and private and to adopt other means to achieve this end.

(c) Sympathy and cooperation of the Indian Universities, Indian States, Provincial and Central Governments, Historical Societies and scholars should be secured towards this end, and

(d) A constitution for such a body be prepared by a Committee of the following members for submission to the next Session of the Congress:

- (1) Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan, Et. D. Litt. (President) Allahabad.
- (2) Prof. C. Shrinivasachari. M.A., Annamalai.
- (3) Prof. S.V. Puntambekar, M.A., Bar-at-Law., Benares.
- (4) Dr. Surendra Nath Sen, M. A., B. Litt., Calcutta.
- (5) Prof. S. N. Dhar, M. A., Indore.
- (6) Prof. S. K. Bhuyan, M. A., Gauhati.
- (7) Prof. Shri Ram Sharma, M. A., Lahore.
- (8) Dr. S. K. Banerjee, M. A., Lucknow.
- (9) Prof. S. R. Sharma, M. A., Poona.
- (10) Rev. Father H. Heras, S. J. Bombay.
- (11) Prof. D. V. Potdar, B. A., Poona (Secretary).

with power to coopt. as many members as may be deemed necessary.

(e) The Committee mentioned in (c) above shall function as a Provisional Working Committee and do all the business necessary to carry on the work of the Congress until a New Working Committee is appointed at the next session of the Congress.

[Khan Bahadur A. K. Sarfaraz's resolutions were dropped at the suggestion of the President as none came forward to move and explain them for him].

Donations

The Raja Saheb Shrimant Babasaheb Pant Sachiv of Bhor	Rs. 500
The Raja Saheb Shrimant Appasaheb Patwardhan of Jamkhandi	„ 100
The Raja Saheb Shrimant Nanasaheb Nimbalkar of Phaltan	„ 51
The Chief Saheb Shrimant Babasaheb Ghorpade of Ichalkaranji	„ 100
The University of Bombay	„ 250

THE ALL INDIA MODERN HISTORY CONGRESS ASSOCIATION.

Draft Constitution and Rules.

(1) The name of the Association shall be the All India Modern History Congress Association, and its object shall be the promotion of the scientific study of the history of India from the advent of Islam in India to the close of the Maratha period, by the annual holding of a Congress and by such other means as shall be conducive to the above object.

(2) The Association shall be competent to acquire, hold and dispose off funds and property in the furtherance of its aims and object as defined above.

(3) The Association shall consist of Ordinary Members and Session Members. The Annual subscription for the former shall be Rs. 10 and for the latter Rs. 10 per session. Any ordinary member may compound for all future annual subscriptions by the payment of Rs. 100 in lump sum or by instalments not exceeding four.

(4) Ordinary members of the Association shall have the right to contribute papers to be read at the Congress, to receive all publications issued by the Association free of charge, and to fill any office in the Association on being duly elected thereto.

(5) Session members of the Association shall be entitled to contribute papers to be read at the Session of the Congress of which they are members, to receive free of charge all the publications issued by the Association relating to that Session of the Congress, and other publications of the Association at favoured rates.

(6) The official year of the Association shall commence from the 1st of July.

(7) There shall be a President, a Chairman and two Vice-Chairmen of the Executive Committee, a General Secretary and two Assistant Secretaries, a Treasurer and five members of the Executive Committee who shall constitute the officers of the Association.

(8) Only ordinary members shall be entitled to hold office in the Association.

(9) The term of office of all officers of the Association, except the President, shall commence from the beginning of the official year and shall extend until the assumption of office by their successors appointed in accordance with the provision of these rules.

The President shall assume office on the opening day of the annual Congress following the one at which he is elected, and shall continue to hold office until the assumption of office by his successor.

(10) There shall be an Executive Committee which shall consist of the President, the Chairman and two Vice-Chairmen, the General Secretary, two Assistant Secretaries, the Treasurer and five members elected by the General Committee at its Annual Meeting during the Session of the Congress.

(11) Ordinarily the Executive Committee shall have full power to transact all business including the framing of Regulations and in cases of emergency to deal with all other matters not herein specified provided that nothing is done which is inconsistent with this Constitution and Rules and subject to rescission or alteration by the General Committee.

(12) There shall be a General Committee which shall consist of all ordinary members of the Association.

(13) The General Committee shall meet at least once a year and invariably during the Session of the Congress.

(14) The General Secretary of the Association shall be the Secretary and Convener of both the Executive Committee and the General Committee and shall hold office for at least two years following his appointment.

(15) In the event of any vacancy or vacancies occurring among the officers of the Association such vacancy or vacancies shall be filled up by the Executive, subject to confirmation by the General Committee.

(16) Ordinarily all officers of the Association shall be appointed by election by the General Committee at its Annual meeting during the Session of the Congress.

(17) Ordinary members shall be accepted on application, by the Executive Committee subject to confirmation by the General Committee and the payment of subscription by the specified date.

(18) The Annual subscription of membership should be paid in advance within a month of the election of a member, and no member shall be entitled to his privileges unless he has paid his subscription in full.

(19) There shall be a Local Committee with a Local Secretary or Secretaries for each Session of the Congress who shall be appointed by the Executive Committee, when the Congress meets outside Poona, and these shall make all arrangements for the Session of the Congress on behalf of the Executive Committee.

(20) The following procedure shall be observed for the making of any addition to or alteration in the existing constitution and rules of the Association:—

(1) Proposals for additions to or alterations in the existing constitution and rules may be placed at any time before the General Committee by the Executive Committee.

(2) (a) Such proposals shall be sent to the General Secretary so as to reach him one full month before the meeting of the General Committee at which they are to be moved.

(b) The General Secretary shall circulate such proposals among all ordinary members of the Association at least 15 days before the meeting of the General Committee.

(c) Any amendments to the proposals shall be sent by any ordinary member of the Association to the General Secretary so as to reach him at least a week before the meeting of the General Committee.

(d) The proposals together with amendments, if any, shall be placed before the Annual meeting of the General Committee during the Session of the Congress and declared carried if accepted by a two-thirds' majority of the members voting at the meeting.

ALL INDIA MODERN HISTORY CONGRESS, POONA

Members of the Reception Committee

- (1) Mr. Anant Vinayak Patvardhan, B. A., Aryabhushan, Poona.
- (2) Mr. Raghunath Pandurang Karandikar, High Court Pleader, Satara.
- (3) Mr. Ganesh Sitaram Joshi, B. A., Teacher, Poona.
- (4) Prof. Srinivas Ramchandra Sharma, M. A., Fergusson, College, Poona.
- (5) Prof. N. L. Ahmed—Ismail College, Andheri.
- (6) Mr. Vithal Dattatreya Ghate, B. A., B. T., T. D., Poona.
- (7) Prof. Vaman Govind Kale, M. A., Fergusson College, Poona.
- (8) Dr. Raghunath Purushottam Paranjpye, B. A. (Cantab), Vice-chancellor, University, Lucknow.
- (9) Prof. Datto Vaman Potdar, B.A., Sir P.B. College, Poona.
- (10) Mr. Govind Ganesh Malse, M. A., B. Sc., Headmaster, Poona.
- (11) Prof. Shrikrishna Vyankatesh Pontambekar, B. A. (Oxon), Bar-at-Law, Hindu University, Benares.
- (12) Mr. Baburao Ganpatrao Jagtap, B.A., B.T., Headmaster, Poona.
- (13) Rao Saheb Gangadhar Keshav Deshpande, Retd. Dy. Supt. Police, Poona.
- (14) Mr. Anant Vasudeo Phadnis, Kesari Office, Poona.
- (15) Khan Bahadur M. Hidayatulla, Headmaster, Poona.
- (16) Dr. M. Venkatrao Shetti Nair, Bombay.
- (17) Rao Bahadur Laxman Bhaskar Mulye, B. A., Education Member, Gwalior.
- (18) Thakur Uttam Singh, B. A., B. com., LL. B., Court of Wards, Gwalior.
- (19) Mr. Keshav Balvant Dongare, B. A., Court-of-Wards, Gwalior.
- (20) Mr. V. G. Dani, M. A., Bar-at-Law, Gwalior.
- (21) Dr. Hari Ramchandra Divekar, M. A., Ph. D., Gwalior.
- (22) Shri Amarsing Raje Kadam, Gwalior.

- (23) Prof. Prabhakar Vaman Bapat, M. A., B. T., Gwalior.
- (24) Mr. V. S. Shirke Patharpekar, B. A., Gwalior.
- (25) Dr. M. D. Pustake, Gwalior.
- (26) Mr. Ramchandra V. Date, B. A., LL. B., Gwalior.
- (27) Mr. Parashram Hari Thatte, Retd. Headmaster, Nasik.
- (28) Prof. S. G. Deshpande, M. A., Ahmedabad.
- (29) Mr. J. S. Tilley, Hon-Secy. B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.
- (30) Prin. Dhananjaya Ramchandra Gadgil, M. A., M. Litt. (Cantab), Poona.
- (31) Rao Bahadur Ganesh Narhar Atre, B. A., Poona.
- (32) Mr. S. S. Cameron, M. A., Edcl. Inspector, Poona.
- (33) Mr. Govind Shivram Uplekar, Jeweller, Kolhapur.
- (34) Mr. Narsinha Chintaman Kelkar, B.A., LL. B., Poona.
- (35) Dr. Gopal Sadashiv Palsule, Anandashram, Poona.
- (36) Prof. Ramkrishna Purushottam Patvardhan, M. A. (Cantab), Elphinstone College, Bombay.
- (37) Mr. Parashuram Krishna Gode, M. A., B. O. R. Institute, Poona.
- (38) Dr. Surendra Nath Sen, M. A., Ph. D., University of Calcutta.
- (39) Rao Saheb Krishnaji Shankar Dixit, B. A., Retd. Satara.
- (40) Prof. Nilkantha Shastri, M. A.—University, Madras.
- (41) Mrs. Kamalabai Saheba Kibe, Indore.
- (42) Mr. Jal Pesonji Birdy, M. A., Andheri.
- (43) Dr. Bhaskar Anant Saletore, M. A., Ph. D., Sir P. B. College, Poona.
- (44) Prof. Shankar Gopal Sathe, M. A., I. E. S., Poona.
- (45) Rao Saheb Ramchandra Shankar Dixit, B. A., Retd., Poona.
- (46) Mr. Dhondo Krishna Sathe, B. Sc., B.A., Banker, Poona.
- (47) Prof. H. B. Bhide, M. A., Bhavnagar.
- (48) Prof. Vishnu Narayan Kumbhare, M. A., Willingdon College, Sangli.
- (49) Mr. Raghu Nath Chintaman Sohoni, Landlord, Poona.
- (50) Mr. Sadanandrao L. Kapdi, Librarian, B. B. R. A. S. Bombay.
- (51) Mr. Dattaram Ganpat Dalvi, Advocate, Bombay.
- (52) Mr. Bhalchandra Sitaram Sukthankar, Solicitor, Bombay.

- (53) Mr. Vasant Sakharam Raut, Landlord, Bombay.
- (54) Mr. Yeshwant Krishna Khadilkar, Editor, Bombay.
- (55) Mr. D. N. Marshall, M. A., Asstt. Registrar, University, Bombay.
- (56) Prin. V. R. Nerurker, Bombay.
- (57) Prin. Dr. Balkrishna, M. A., Ph. D., Rajaram College, Kolhapur.
- (58) Prin. Parashram Mahadeo Limaye, M. A., Willingdon College, Sangli.
- (59) Mr. Vasudeo Sitaram Bendrey, Poona.
- (60) Mr. S. M. Datar, M. A., LL. M., Poona.
- (61) Prin. T. K. Shahani, M. A., Bhavnagar.
- (62) Mr. Vinayak Vishnu Deshpande, B. Sc., LL. M., Poona.
- (63) Mr. S. V. Joshi, Pensioner, Poona.
- (64) Mr. Ramrao Ganpatrao Vijaykar, Editor, Bombay.
- (65) Mr. B. L. Powar, Jubblepur.
- (66) Dr. Narhar Gopal Sardesai, Oriental Agency, Poona.
- (67) Prin. Jagannath Raghunath Gharpure, Law College, Poona.
- (68) Mr. Dattatraya Vishnu Apte, B. A., Anandashram, Poona.
- (69) Nabab Abdul Ali, Imperial Records, Calcutta.
- (70) Dr. Vishnu Sitaram Sukthankar, M. A., Ph. D., B. O. R. Institute Poona.
- (71) Prof. Purushottam Ganesh Dani, College of Engineering, Poona.
- (72) Prof. Manohar Ramchandra Palande, M. A., M. T. B., Arts College, Surat.
- (73) Rao Bahadur Ganesh Narayan Khare, B. A., Retd. Edcl. Inspector, Poona.
- (74) Prof. G. G. Khare, Poona.
- (75) Prin. Sitaram Ramchandra Tavade, M. A., M. Ed., Training College, Poona.
- (76) Mr. Ramchandra Bhaskar Bhagvat, M. A., Retd. Edcl. Inspector, Poona.
- (77) Rao Saheb Krishnaji Govind Pundlik, B. A., Retd. Edcl. Inspector, Poona.
- (78) Prof. Chintaman Balvant Joshi, M. A., Wadia College, Poona.

(106) Prof. Devidas Dattatraya Wadekar, M. A., Fergusson College, Poona.

(107) Justice Sir Govind Dinanath Madgaonkar, Retd. Bombay.

(108) Shrimant Payappa Jakhappa Hungadikar Dessai, Hangandi.

(109) Sardar G. K. Kale, B. A., LL. B., Poona.

(110) Rajratna Vasudeo Ramchandra Talvalkar, State Architect, Baroda.

(111) Mr. Keshav Vishnu Kelkar, B. A., LL. B., Advocate, Poona.

(112) Sardar R. H. Dhamdhare, Poona.

(113) Mr. Janardan Sakharani Karandikar, B. A., LL. B., Editor, Poona.

(114) Mr. H. G. Gharpure, Retd. I. C. S., Poona.

(115) Mr. Madhavrao Hanamantrao Ghorpade, Landlord, Poona.

(116) Khan Saheb Bakar Ali, Retd. Edcl. Service, Poona.

(117) Prof. Abdul Kadir Sarfraz, M.A., Retd., Deccan College Poona.

(118) Prof. S. L. Vanakudri, M.A., Rajaram College, Kolhapur.

(119) Sardar N. G. Vinchurkar, B. A., Nasik.

(120) Mr. Narhar Raghunath Phatak, B. A., Editor, Bombay.

(121) Sardar Ganpatrao Vinayakrao Natu, B. A., Poona.

(122) Mr. Narayan Ramji Gunjal, Ex—M. L. A., Poona.

(123) Mr. Nilkanth Damodar Abhyankar, M. A., Edcl. Service, Poona.

(124) Rani Laxmibaisaheba Rajwade, Gwalior.

(125) Rao Saheb Gangadhar Moreshwar Phatak, B. A., LL. B., Retd. A. Judge, Dharwar.

(126) Mr. Sajjanlal, M. A., Secunderabad Dn.

(127) Prof. K. S. Venkatraman, M. A., Sir P. B. College, Poona.

(128) Prin. K. M. Khadye, M. A. (Cantab), Wadia College, Poona.

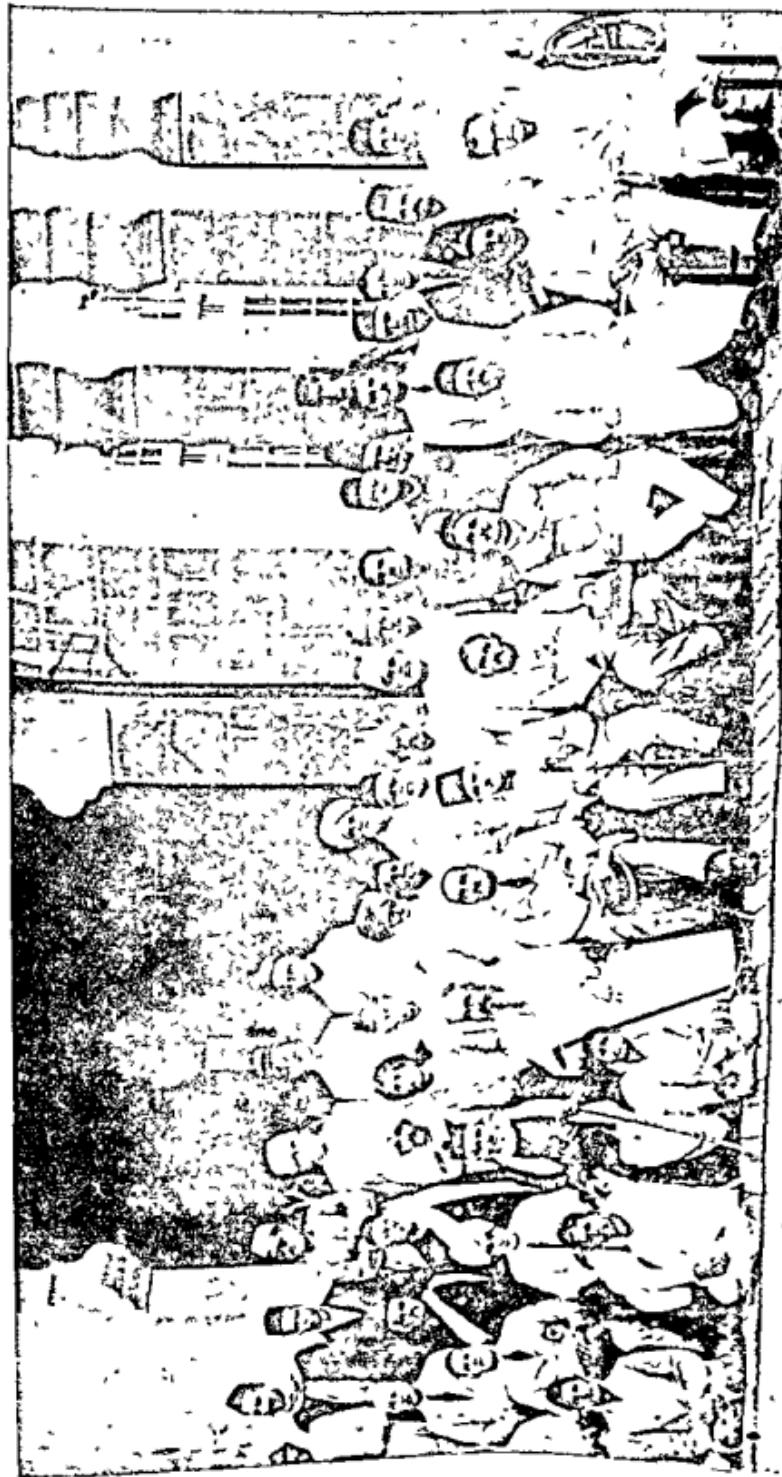
(129) Principal Mahila Pathshala, Hingne Budruk, Poona.

(130) Mr. Gajanan Govind Naik, Author, Kalyan.

(131) Rao Bahadur Keshav Vinayak Godbole, B. A., LL. B., Diwan, Phaltan.

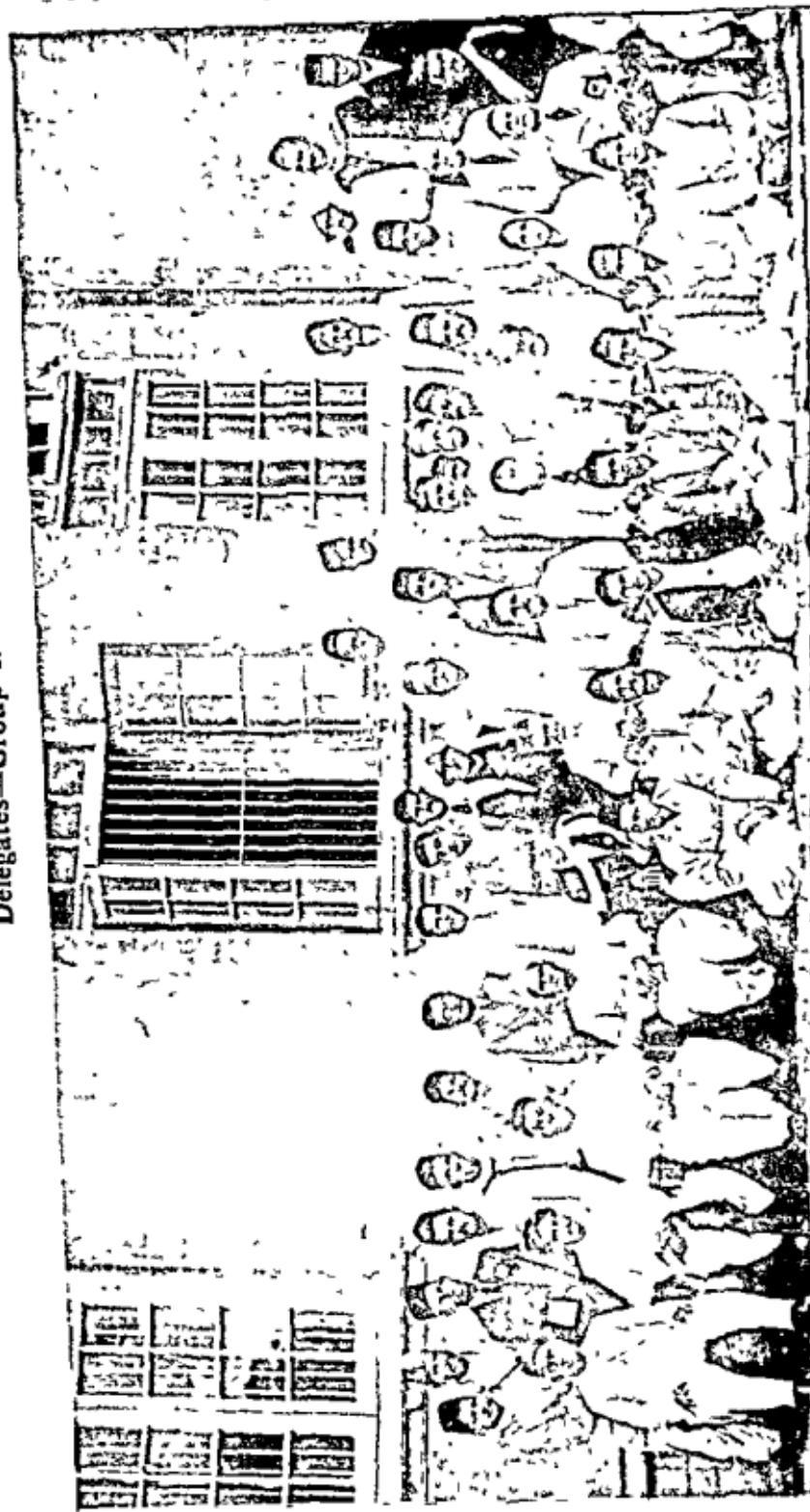
(132) Mr. Vishnu Yadneshwar Chitale, Engineer, Poona.

Delegates—Group I.



RIGHT SIDE, in the Corner, Sir Shastri, Rajasaleb, N. C. Kelkar, Heras

Delegates—Group I.



ALL INDIA MODERN HISTORY CONGRESS POONA 1935.

Delegates

(*Representative.*)

- (1) Punjab University—Prof. Shri Ram Sharma, M. A.
- (2) Annamalai University—Prof. C. Shrinivasachari, M. A.
- (3) Dacca University—Dr. Kalika Ranjan Quanungo,
M. A., Ph. D.
- (4) Bombay University—Rev. Father Henry Heras, S. J.
*Prin. D. R. Gadgil, M. A. M., Litt.
- (5) Calcutta University—*Dr. Surendra Nath Sen,
M. A., Ph. D., B. Litt. (Oxon).
- (6) Benares University—*Prof. S. V. Puntambekar, M. A.,
Bar-at-Law.
- (7) Lucknow University—Dr. S. K. Bannerjee, M.A., L.T., Ph.D.
- (8) Madras University—*Prof. K. A. Neelkantha Shastri, M.A.
- (9) Government of India—*Nabab Abdul Ali, Keeper of
Imperial Records, Calcutta.
- (10) Baroda State—Prof. R. H. Kamdar, M. A.
—Prof. C. V. Joshi, M. A., Raj Daftardar.
- (11) Gwalior State—Mr. Mahomed Hayatkhan, B.A., Inspector
General of Records.
—*Barrister V. G. Dani, M. A. (Cantab).
—*Dr. H. R. Divekar, M. A., Ph. D.
- (12) Bhor State—Rao Sahab V. G. Ranade.
- (13) Ichalkaranji State—Mr. V. V. Rajwade, B. A., LL. B.
- (14) Indore State—Dr. P. Basu, Ph. D., M. A., B. L.
—Prof. S. N. Dhar, M. A.
- (15) Portuguese India—Prof. P. S. Pissurlencar
- (16) The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona—
—*Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, M. A., Ph. D.
—†Prof. P. V. Kane, M. A., LL. M.
—Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M. A., Ph. D.
—*Prof. V. G. Kale, M. A.
—Prin. V. G. Apte, B. A.

* Members of the Reception Committee.

† Not present.

(17) Maharashtra Sahitya Parishad, Poona—
—*Mr. C. G. Karve, B. A.

(18) Nagari Pracharani Sabha, Benares—
—*Prof. D. V. Potdar, B. A.

(19) The Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay—
—*Prof. S. R. Sharma, M. A.

(20) The Sharadashram, Yeotmal
—Mr. Y. K. Deshpande, B. A., LL. B.
—Mr. M. D. Sathe, M. A., B. T.

(21) The Sanmitra Samaj, Sanquelim, Goa—
—Dr. Martin Azavedo

(22) The Gopachar Samaj, Bombay—*Mr. G. G. Naik

(23) The Mohammedan Library Society, Calcutta—
—Mr. A. Z. Hameed

(24) The Gujerath Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad
—†Prof. B. K. Thakore, M. A., I. E. S.
—Mr. H. T. Parekh

(25) Government of India:—
—Nabab Abdul Ali

(26) Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam:—Prof. S. K. Bhuyan, M. A.

Individual.

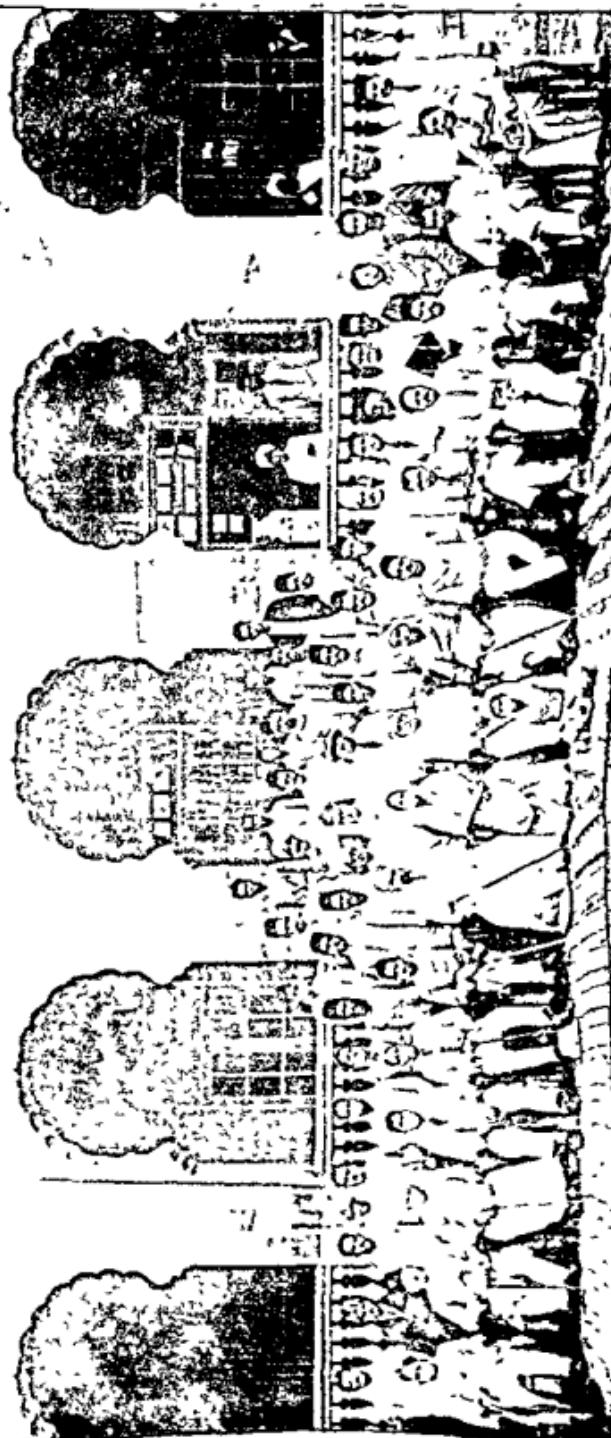
- 1 Prof. S. S. Bhave, M. A., Baroda
- 2 Prof. N. G. Naralkar, M. A., L. T., Poona
- 3 Prof. P. V. Kane M. A., LL. M., Bombay
- 4 Prof. N. G. Damle, M. A., Poona
- 5 Dr. Nandlal Chatterjee, M. A., University, Lucknow
- 6 Prof. T. G. George, M. A., Trichur, Cochin
- 7 Rao Saheb T. B. Jog, Poona
- 8 Rao Saheb P. K. Kulkarni, Poona
- 9 Dr. Parmanand. M. A., Ph. D., Allahabad,
- 10 Prof. Bhatnagar, Agra University, Cawnpore
- 11 Shrimant Sardar D. C. Mujumdar, Baroda
- 12 " Soubh. Akkasahib Mujumdar, Baroda

Delegates

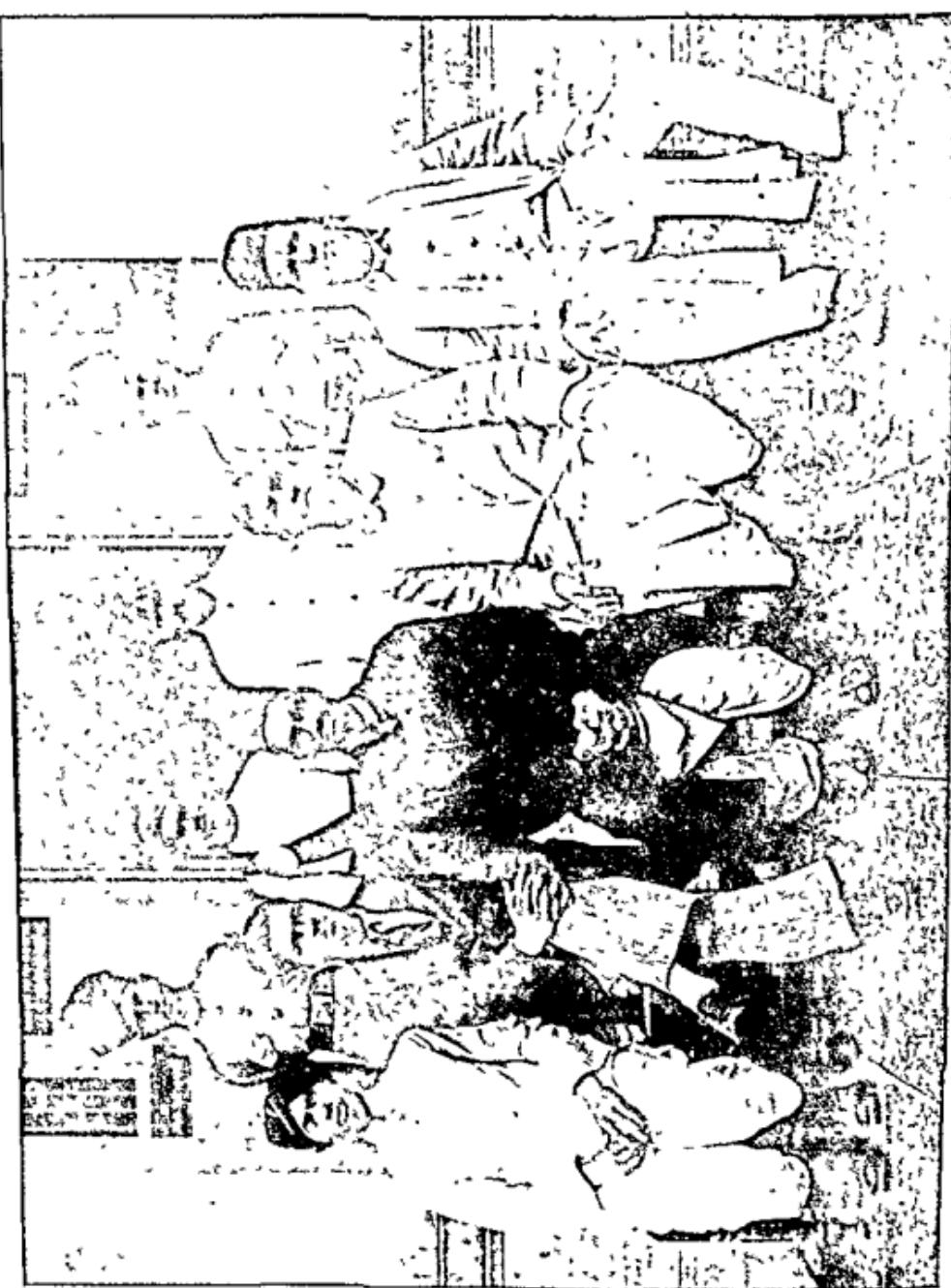
3

- 13 Rao Bahadur B. N. Sathaye, Poona
- 14 Prof. G. S. Deshpande, Kolhapur
- 15 Mr. G. M. Bhalerao, Yaval
- 16 Mr. N. V. Athavale, Poona
- 17 Prof. N. K. Bhagwat, M. A., Bombay
- 18 Mr. D. D. Deshpande, Poona
- 19 Prof. T. M. Joshi, M. A., Poona
- 20 Prof. S. K. Bhuyan, M. A., Gauhati, Assam
- 21 Mr. G. B. Makode, B. A., Gwalior
- 22 Mr. B. V. Kale, M. A., B. T., Poona
- 23 Raosaheb Kolhatkar, M. A., Sangli
- 24 Mr. V. A. Kanole, Nanded
- 25 Prin. M. H. Oak, Poona
- 26 Prin. G. G. Kanetkar, M. A., L. T., Jubblepora
- 27 Mr. C. V. Bhide, Kalyan
- 28 Mr. B. R. Dhurandhar, Bombay
- 29 Miss Sushila Pai, M. A., Bombay
- 30 Miss Kisan Dhumatkar, Bombay
- 31 Nabobzada Syed Murtaza Ali Khan, Bombay
- 32 Mr. N. K. Sinha

Delegates—Group II.



Centre, Rev. Heras, Rani Rajawade, Dr. Ajyanger, Nabob Abdul Ali.



THE HISTORICAL EXHIBITION.

Besides the collections of the Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala, the Exhibition contained the following important sections. Never before had such a unique collection of rare historical exhibits collected in Poona. The exhibition had to be kept open even after the Congress session to satisfy the demand of the visiting public. Prof. C. B. Joshi was in charge of this section.

The Historical Exhibition was opened by Dr. Krishna Swamy Aiyangar of Madras in the morning of 9th June 1935. (Dr. Aiyangar's Opening Address is printed elsewhere. Vide Part I Speeches and Addresses).

Sections.

(1) *Government House, Ganeshkhind* :—The life size oil portraits of Sawai Madho Rao Peshwa, Nana Phadnis and Mahadji Scindia on public view for the first time.

" (2) *Government of India (Imperial Record Department, Calcutta)*.

Descriptive list of Historical Manuscripts, Plans, etc. from the Imperial Record Department.

1. Plan of Bombay, 1767
 - (i) Point and Fort Valovy
 - (ii) Malbar Point and Tower.
2. Bombay, 1758 (References) Town of Bombay.
 - (a) The fort
 - (b) The naval port
 - (c) The port
 - (d) The docks
 - (e) The hospital
 - (f) The treasury
 - (g) The arsenal

- (h) The temple
- (i) The Catholic Chapel
- (j) The Government Place
- (k,l)
- (m) The Staff Officers' quarters
- (n) The house in which the intendant lives.
- (o) Officers' quarters
- (p) The barracks
- (q) The Council House
- (r) The market
- (s) The Fort Dongrie
- (t) False gate
- (u) Port called the Island of Old Women
- (v) Port Dongrie
- (w) Port called the Stony Hill
- (x) The country residence of the Governor of Bombay
at a distance of four miles from the town.

3. Plan of Cambay No. 16 March 1775. Plan of Cambay with the camping grounds for English troops at Narausset, March 1775.

4. List of English Prisoners at Pondicherry 23 Oct. 1759.
5. List of French Prisoners at Fort St. George, Oct. 10, 1759.
6. A general abstract of the English Prisoners at Pondicherry (8 Mar. 1759).
7. Act of Exchange received with Mr. Lally's letter, dated 3 Sep. 1759.
8. Account of the French Squadron destined for India in 1759.
9. Copy of letter from Col. Clive to Admiral Watson, dated 24 Feb. 1757.
10. Copy of Admiral Watson's answer to Col. Clive, dated 27 Feb. 1757.
- 11-15. Copies of *farmans* from the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam, granting the *diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the East India Company and copy of an agreement between the

and the present of three lakhs of rupees made to His Lordship by Nawab Najm-ud-Daulah to the benefit of the Company's invalid servants and widows of those who lost their lives in the Company's service. Among the enclosures are translations of three certificates concerning the legacy of five lakhs (attested 12 Jan. 1767) given by Nawab Najm-ud-Daulah, his mother, i.e. wife of Nawab Mir Jafar and Maharaja Nanda Kumar (Pub. 14 Apr. 1766, No. 2 and 20 Jan. 1767, No. 6).

35. Letter from the Minister to the King of Rangam (Rangoon) intimating that the King has granted Lord Clive some ground in his city to make a Factory and Bankshall to repair and rebuild ships. (Pub. 1 Feb. 1768, Nos. 2 (a)-16).

36. Minute of the Governor-General, reporting the death of Sir William Jones, deplored his loss, and suggesting that all materials left by him for the Digest of the Hindu and Muhammedan Laws may be asked for from his executor. (Pub. 2 May 1794, No. 1).

37. Letter from the President and Council of Fort St. George enclosing a copy of the verdict of the inquest held on the death of Lord Pigot and a bill of indictment against the late administration and others for wilful murder, and reporting that their sessions have had to be adjourned pending the determination of certain points of law, on which they desire a reference to the Judges of the Supreme Court. (Pub. 3 Nov. 1777, No. 1).

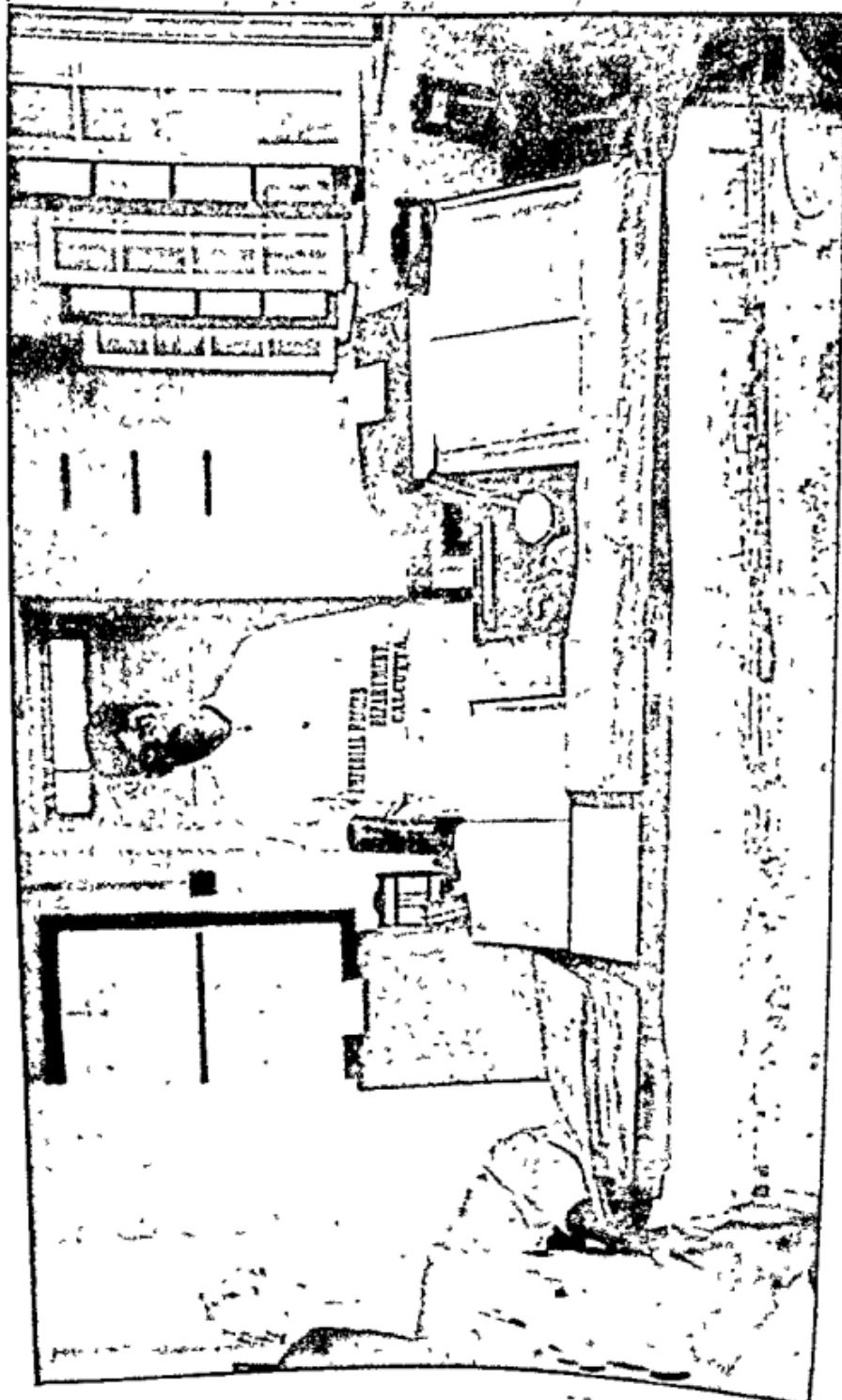
38. Copy of the verdict of an inquest held at Fort St. George from the 11 May 1777 to the 7 Aug. 1777, on the body of Lord Pigot. (Pub. 3 Nov. 1777, No. 2).

39. Bill of indictment against Mr. George Stratton and others for the murder of George Lord Pigot. (Pub. 3 Nov. 1777, No. 3).

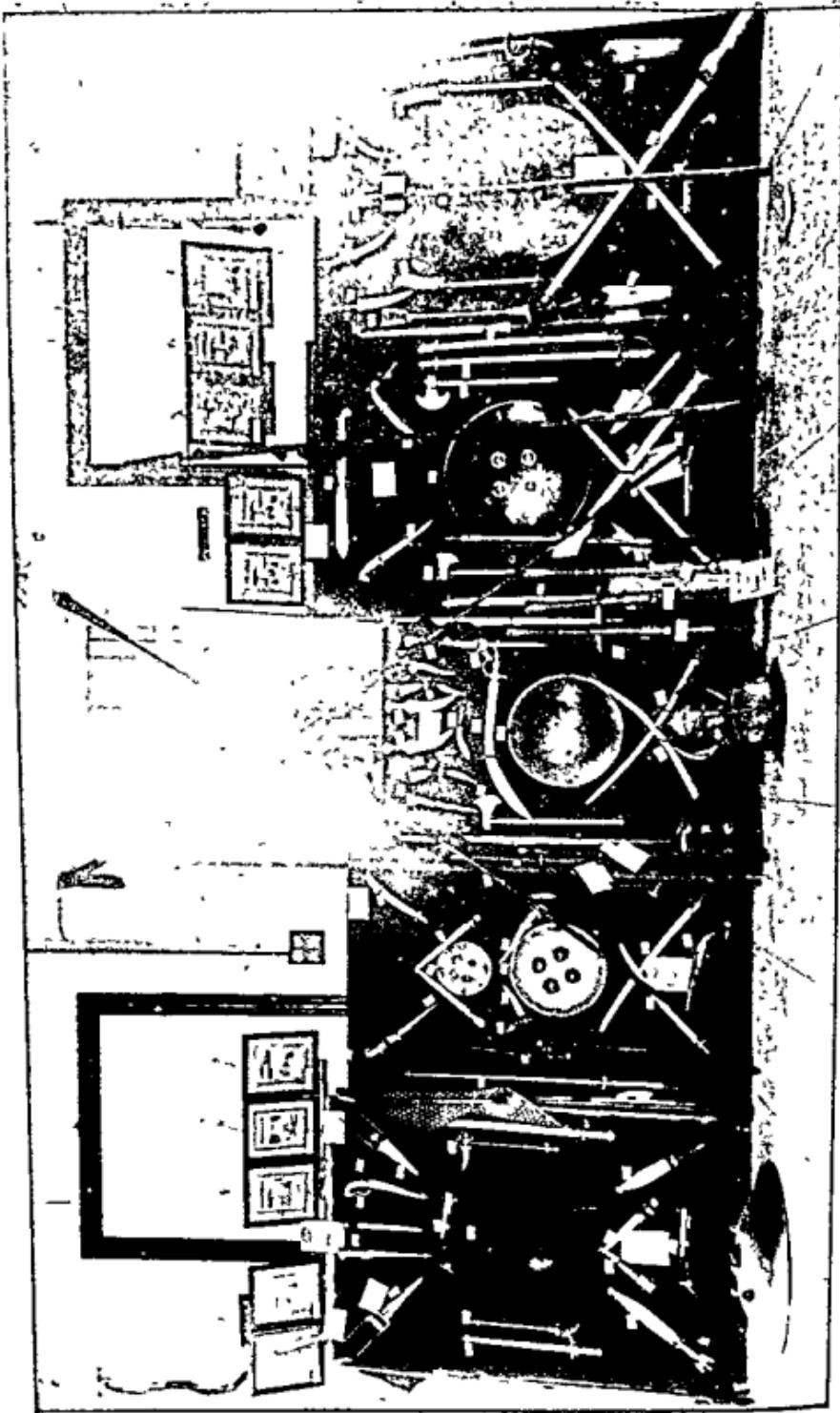
40. Proclamation issued by Nana Sahib to incite the Indian troops during the Mutiny of 1857, together with its translation, received from Mr. Wynyard, the then Judge at Gorakhpore. (Pub. 7 August 1857, No. 137).

41. Copy of a letter from Mr. C. W. Malet, Resident at Poona enclosing with his remarks copies of certain papers giving a sketch of the foreign and internal commerce of the

The Historical Exhibition.
The Government of India, Section.



**The Historical Exhibition,
The Bhar State Section,**



Marathas, and discussing at length, the prospects of increasing the commercial intercourse between the Maratha country and Company's territories. (Pub. 22 Apr. 1789, No. 25.).

42. Letter from Mr. Henry Vansittart (Vansit-art) intimating that he will continue to hold the charge of the Government. (Pub. 30 Oct. 1764, No. 2).

43. Minute of Lord Clive regarding Mr. Burdett's behaviour. (Pub. 2 Sep. 1765, No. 2 (a)).

44. Letter from Mr. H. Verelst to the Hon. H. Vansittart, dated Islamabad, 19 Sep. 1762, regarding the early history and the contemporary political situation in Manipur. Holograph. (Pub. Con. 4 Oct. 1762, No. 5).

45. From Chhattar Singh, Rana of Gohad. Informed the Governor General of the capture of the fortress of Gwalior by Captain Popham on 2 *Shaban* (3 August 1780). Bears the Rana's seal. (Pers. 5 Sep. 1780, No. 33).

46. From His Majesty, Shah Alam. Has learnt from the Governor General's letter that he is leaving for Madras with a view to punishing Tipu for his having invaded Travancore, the territory of an ally of the English. Bears the seal of His Majesty. (Pers. 8 Mar. 1790, No. 50).

47. From Madho Rao Sindhia, acknowledging the Governor General's letter in which he writes that he has decided not to go to Madras and that Major Meadows who has been appointed Governor of that place will conduct the war against Tipu. Bears the writer's seal. (Pers. 10 Mar. 1790, No. 57).

48. From Madho Rao Sindhia. Requests that the Nawab Vazir may be asked to restore the salary and the *jagir* of Mir Mahomed Amjad who has been rendering good services to rich Hindu pilgrims from the Deccan as visit the holy shrines of the eastern provinces. It is necessary that the Mir should be present at Allahabad during the month of Magh next, when a large number of pilgrims will go there for worship and holy bath. (Pers. 14 Aug. 1790, No. 204.).

49. From Tipu Sultan. Asks the Governor General to depute an ambassador to his court or allow him to send one to

Madras in order to remove the estrangement that has sprung up between them. Encloses a list of presents accompanying the letter. Bears the seal of the Sultan. (Pers. 18 Feb. 1791, no. 35)

50. From Tipu Sultan. In reply to the Governor General's offer to send to the Sultan's camp the corpse of Bahadur Khan who fell fighting gallantly at Bangalore says that the body may be handed to the local Mussalmans for burial. Bears the Sultan's seal. (Pers. 23 Mar. 1791, No. 78).

51. From Maharaja Siwai Partab Singh of Jaipur to Col. Murray, informing him that Captain Murray has gone to the *Mela* of Bhakkarji and to Chandgari to buy horses. Written in characteristic *Shikastah* style. Bears the seal of the Maharaja. (Pers. 25 Nov. 1795, No. 359).

52. From Daulat Rao Sindbia. Says that Rao Baji Rao, the elder son of Raghunath Rao has been installed Peshwa in succession to Madhu Rao who is dead. Nana Farnavis would not at first agree to the measure out of selfish motives but had to acquiesce when he found that none of the chiefs would support him. (Pers. 9 Sep. 1796, No. 328).

53. From the Peshwa (Narayan Rao) says that he will stick to the terms of the treaty and asks the Governor General to do the same. (Pers. 12 Dec. 1778, No. 138).

54. From Madhuji Bhonsla. In view of the impending war with the French, the Governor General sent under Col. Leslie, reinforcements to assist the Bombay Government and requested the Bhonsla to let them pass through their territories. The Bhonsla informs the Governor General that he has taken necessary measures for the safe passage of the Army. (Pers. 10 May 1778, No. 32).

55. From Raghunath Rao. Thanks the Governor-General for his sending reinforcements to assist the Bombay Government in his behalf. Bears the writer's signature. (Pers. 16 Dec. 1778, No. 144).

56-58. Plan for establishing a route for mail from India to England via Red Sea. (Pol. 11 Sep. 1812 Nos. 7-9).

100-102. Treaty dated 13 January 1844 between the Hon'ble East India Company and Maharaja Ali Jah Jayaji Rao Sindhia. (For. 23 Mar. 1844, Nos. 432-433A).

103-113. Suppression of the *Sati* rite in the State of Gwalior. (Pol. 7 Jan. 1835, Nos. 25-7; Pol. 19 Feb. 1835, Nos. 64-5; Pol. 22 Feb. 1835, No. 22; Pol. 19 Mar. 1852, Nos. 143-44; Pol. 1 Oct. 1852, Nos. 55-7).

114-122. Occurrence of a case of *Sati* in the State of Baroda (Pol. 13 Jan. 1854, Nos. 10-13; Pol. 7 Jun. 1854, Nos. 28-32).

123-25. Occurrence of a case of *Sati* in Ulwar, Rajputana (Pol. 8 Jul. 1859, Nos. 300-302).

126. Spread of education in Central India in 1857. (Pol. 29 Jan. 1858, No. 85).

127. Capture of Tantia Topi's family by Shindhia Subah of Bhind. (Sec. 24 Sep. 1858. No. 123).

128. Treaty with King Christian VIII of Denmark for transferring the Danish settlements in India to the English. Dated 22 February 1845.

129. Persian illuminated manuscripts showing the different styles of calligraphy.

130. A book exhibiting a fine specimen of "inlaying" work. This book was hopelessly damaged by *larvae* and had almost become a solid mass of paper.

131. Addresses presented to H. E. the Right Hon. Viscount Canning, Viceroy and Governor General of India, by the Chief of Peshawar and the Rajas of the Punjab on the occasion of his visit to those places in 1859.

132. Tibetan wood-block. It is a block to print, on paper or cotton, a charm invoking the protection of Jhambala, the god of riches. The upper part consists of a gem in the centre being the emblem of the god, and surrounded by Sanskrit Mantras in Tibetan script. Under the charm itself is cut out, in Tibetan, an explanation of the charm, with directions as to its use.

132-133. Lahore seals and roll of their impressions. These belonged to Maharaja Ranjit Singh his sons and officers, and are 19 in number.

From the Imperial Library.

134. Panorama of the City of Lahore—painted in water-colour, 1840.

135. Panorama of the City of Dacca.

Books and Publications.

Imperial Record Department.

1. Index to the Press Lists of the Public Department Records, 1748-1800.

2-6. Calendar of Persian Correspondence,

Vol.	I	1759-1767
"	II	1767-1769
"	III	1770-1772
"	IV	1772-1773
"	V	1776-1780

7. List of the Heads of Administration in India and of the India Office in England corrected to 28

8-20. Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, 1919-1930. Vols. I-XIII

Calcutta Historical Society.

21. The Narrative of the Life of a Gentleman long Resident in India—By G. F. Grand, 1910.

22. The Diaries of Three Surgeons of Patna—1763.

23. Calcutta Faces and Places in pre-Camera Days

24. Bengal: Past and Present

25-26 Index to Bengal; Past and Present

to Bong I-VII Volumes

VIII-XVIII

"

1

(3) *Bhor State* :—A separate guide was published for this section, which contained the following important exhibits :—

- (1) Four oil paintings of the forts of Rajgad and Torna
- (2) Ivory chess set (32 pieces)
- (3) Three old dishes

- (4) One stone image
- (5) Four old rifles (three flint and one matchlock)
- (6) Various old arms and weapons (74)
- (7) Two shields
- (8) A rifle butt
- (9) One lance
- (10) Two Bāns
- (11) Two Bothaties
- (12) Two Ballams
- (13) One Banya
- (14) Two Itās
- (15) Banners—The Bhagvazenda, and the Jari Patka.

(4) *Gwalior State* :—

S. No.	Description	Remark
<i>Archaeological Department, Gwalior.</i>		
(Paintings)		
1	Baz Bahadur and Rupinati (?) on horse back.	In one frame
2	" " " (?) " "	size 3'2" by
3	" " " (?) on camel "	1'10" .
4	Maharaja Daulat Rao Scindia.	
5	Maharana Pratap on horse back.	
6	Amarsingh Rathor.	Do Do
7	Maharana Pratap singh of Udaipur(modern?)	
8	Peshwa Baji Rao I on horse back.	
9	A Maratha Sardar.	Do Do
10	A Deccani Brahmana Sardar on horse back.	
11	Maharaja Mahadji Scindia hunting a tiger.	Do
12	" " " a bust.	3'2" x 1'3"
13	" " " seated.	
14	Maharaja Daulat Rao Scindia seated on Gaddi.	
15	" " " "	
16	Maharani Baija Bai Sahiba Scindia queen of Daulat Rao Scindia.	Do Do
17	Maharaja Jankoji Rao Scindia seated.	
18	" " " on horse back.	3'2" x 1'3"
19	" " " seated.	

S. No.	Description	Remark
20	Maharaja Jayaji Rao Scindia in Military dress.	
21	Maharaja Jayaji Rao Scindia in Darbar dress.	
22	" " " on horse back.	
23	Maharani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi on horse back.	
24	Maharani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi in male attire.	
25	Maharani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi and Tantia Tope on horse back.	
26	Maharaja Madhav Rao Scindia in boyhood	Do Do
27	General Babu Rao Saheb Angre	Do Do
28	Fortress of Gwalior taken by General Popham in 1780.	In one frame Do $2' \times 1'10''$
29	Shivaji Maharaj.	Do $1' \times 10''$
30	Silver coins of Scindia dynasty about fifty in number.	

State Museum.

- 31 A hamlet having two heads and four horns painted.
- 32 A large shield showing scenes of battles etc. over it.
- 33 A copper plate inscription of Maharaja Hari Singh of Narwar dated Samvat 1840.
- 34 Maharaja Mahadji Scindia seated.
- 35 Maharaja Daulat Rao Scindia seated on Gaddi.
- 36 Maharaja Jankoji Rao Scindia.
- 37 Maharaja Tukoji Rao Holkar of Indore.
- 38 Peshwa Baji Rao II.
- 39 Hindu Rao Baba.
- 40 Jahangir and Noorjahan (?) on horse back.
- 41 Jawan Singh.
- 42 Rathod Umrao Singh.

Mr. V. G. Rakhe.

- 43 Amarsingh Rathor.
- 44 King Bhoja praying his priest in sun ~~eclipse~~.
- 45 Extracts taken from various Persian books.

(5) *Baroda State* :—Indian paintings—Some of them of historical personages especially from Gujarat. Illuminated manuscripts and other exhibits. The paintings contained some large size figures unlike the familiar Indian miniatures. Gold and silver coins of Gaickwars. Handwritings of Nana Phadnavis and other Maratha politicians.

(6) *Ichalkaranji State* :—Gold copper and bronze coins-about 200; containing Vijayanagar and other Hons and other coins.

(7) *Indian Historical Research Institute, St Xavier's College, Bombay* :—

- 1 Persian manuscript containing the History of the Sultan of Bengal.
- 2 Illuminated Hindu manuscript containing a love story.
- 3 Manuscript containing the Vishnu Purana translated into Persian.
- 4 Ms. containing the history of the Sikhs Gurus and several books on Hindustan.
- 5 Portuguese life of Shiwaji printed in 1730.
- 6 The original account of the Black Hole of Calcutta printed in 1730.
- 7 Illuminated book on the social customs of the European India.
- 8 Krishna and his mother Yeshoda—Painting.
- 9 Moghul Nobleman—Painting.
- 10 A book on Emperor Akbar in Latin 1598.
- 11 Portrait of one of the Nabobs of Surat.
- 12 A Jain Painting from Gujarat.
- 13 Belt buckle in brass and silver.
- 14 Brass plate showing Khandoba.

(8) *Mr. Y. M. Kale* :—1. Two Picture Albums (bound)

2. A Sanskrit—German Dictionary
(Printed in Berlin 1841 A. D.)
3. Manusmriti (Printed 1825 A. D.
E. I. Coy)

THE HISTORICAL EXHIBITION.

The Baroda State Section.

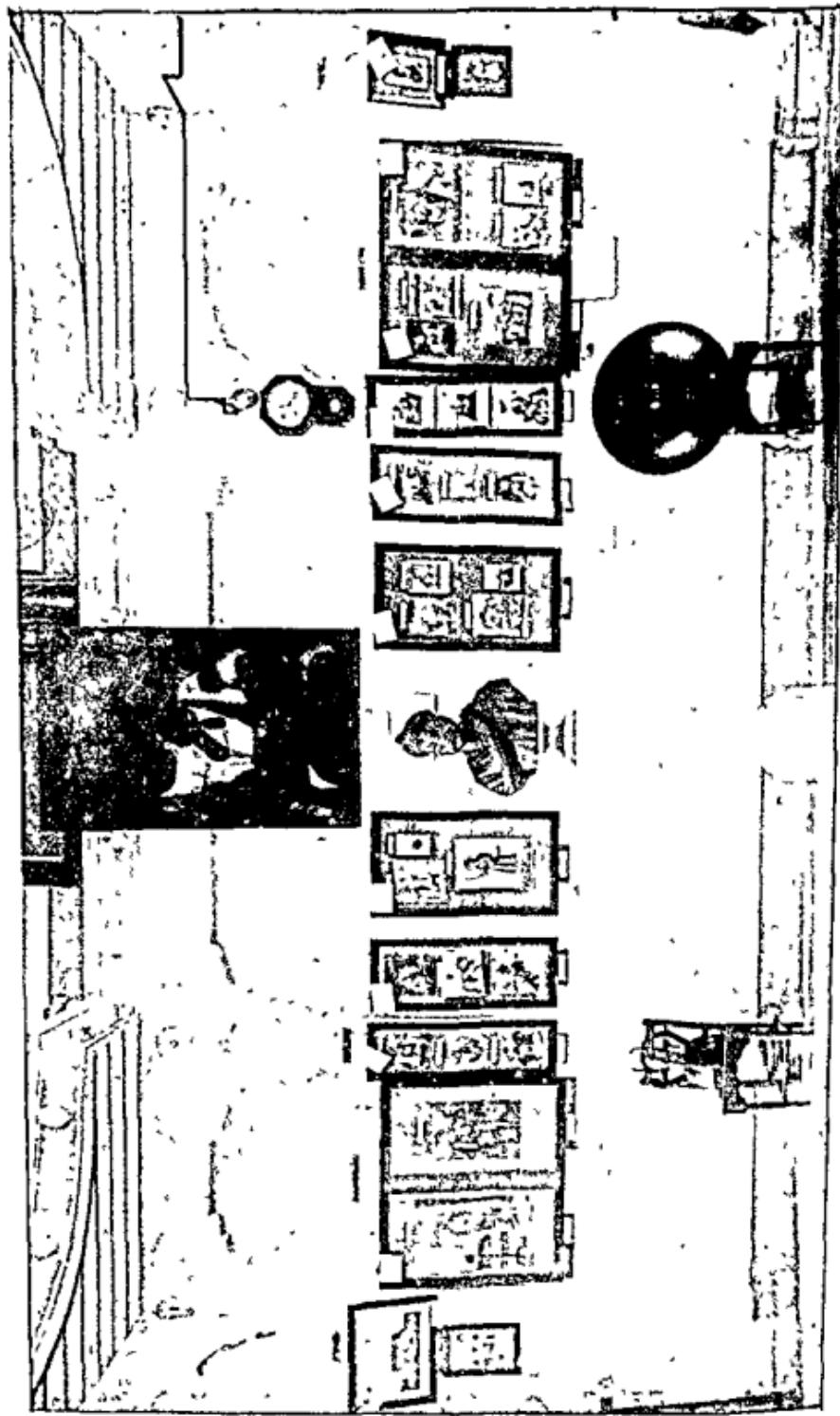


EXHIBITS FROM BARODA STATE



The Historical Exhibition.

The Gwalior State Section.



(9) *Mr. V. A. Kanole Nanded* :—(1) Ms called Vimalbodha by Mudgal Bhatt of Nanded, copy by Diwakar in Shak 1583. A work on Dharmashastra.

(2) Copies of letters of Nawab Salabat Jung Bahadur (Nizam)

(3) An old Ms. of Vivek Sindhu by Mukundraj (Marathi)

(4) Marathi Ms of Panchikaran by Mrityunjaya

(5) Krishnacharitra Ms—in Gurumukhi, by Sham, with illustrations.

(6) Akhbar i Dehli (1839 A. D.)—Persian, deals with the last rites of Maharaja Ranjitsinh.

(7) Tantra Darpan Ms by Raghunath Shesha, copy by his grandson Gopal in Shak 1619.

(10) *Matribhumi Karyalaya, Gwalior* :—
1. Pictures—Enthroned Varaha
2. " —Ramchandra
3. " —A Fakir and nymphs
4. " —Letters from Daulatrao Scindia about the pretender 1 Yeshodabai Peshwi 2 about the Mughal Emperor.

THE ALL INDIA MODERN HISTORY CONGRESS.

POONA 1935.

Programme of the Sessions.

(Saturday : 8th June, 1935)

5-0 p. m. Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan, the President Elect, will be received at the door by the President and members of the Working Committee.

5-5 p. m. Arrival of His Excellency Lord Brabourne, who will be received at the door by the President and members of the Working Committee.

5-10 to 5-15 p. m. Welcome Songs by Pupils from M. E. High School.

5-15 to 5-30 p. m. Welcome address by Raja Raghunathrao Shankarrao *alias* Babasaheb Pant Sachiv, President of the Reception Committee.

5-30 to 5-45 p. m. Inaugural Address by His Excellency the Governor.

5-45 to 5-50 p. m. Mr. N. C. Kelkar, Chairman, Working Committee, will thank His Excellency and garland him.

5-50 p. m. Departure of His Excellency.

5-50 to 6-0 p. m. Prof. S. K. Bhuyan (Gauhati) will propose Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan to the chair.
Prof. G. V. Punatambekar (Benares) will second him.

6-0 p. m. The President takes the chair.

6-0 to 6-10 p. m. The General Secretary will read select messages.

6-10 to 7-15 p. m. Presidential Address.

7-15 to 7-30 p. m. Prof. Shrinivasachari will propose a vote of thanks to the President.
Prof. S. R. Sharma (Punjab) will second.

The Opening of the Historical Exhibition.

(Sunday : 9th June, 1935).

8-0 a. m. The General Secretary's introductory speech about the Historical Exhibition.

8-15 to 9-0 a. m. The President of the Congress will request Rao Bahadur Dr. Krishna Swami Aiyangar to declare the Historical Exhibition open. Rao Bahadur Dr. Krishna Swami Aiyangar will declare the Historical Exhibition open.

9-0 a. m. Presentation of the Album of the Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal to Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan, President of the Congress and Shrimant Raja Babasaheb Pant Sachiv of Bhor and Rao Bahadur Dr. Krishna Swami Aiyangar.

The Rajasaheb of Bhor will present to Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan and Rao Bahadur Aiyangar The Bhor Museum Guide.

9-0 to 9-15 a. m. Professor C. B. Joshi, the Exhibition Secretary will thank Rao Bahadur Dr. Krishna Swami Aiyangar and garland him.

9-15 a. m. A visit to the Exhibition.

N. B.—Members of the Reception Committee and Delegates will get a copy of each of the B. I. S. M. Album and the Bhor Musuem Guide. Those who may not get them are kindly requested to apply to the Secretary.

2-30 to 4-45 p. m. Reading of Papers.

4-45 to 5-30 p. m. Adjournment for Tea.

5-30 to 6-30 p. m. Lecture by Prof. S. Shrinivasachari on "A Conspectus of South Indian History".

6-45 p. m. onwards. An "At Home" by the Rajasaheb of Bhor.

9-30 p. m. onwards. Old Marathi Ballads.



(Monday : 10th June 1935).

7-30 to 10-30 a. m. Reading of Papers.

2-30 to 3-30 p. m. Consideration of Resolutions
by

Prof. D. V. Potdar

Rao Saheb G. S. Sirdesai.

Prof. Shekh Abdul Kadir Sarafraj and others.

3-30 to 4-30 p. m. Light Refreshments at the Bharat Itihs
Sanshodhak Mandal.

4-30 to 5-30 p. m. Resolutions. Foundation of the All India
Modern History Congress Organization. Draft
Constitution by Prof. S. R. Sharma.

5-30 to 6-0 p. m. Group photo.

6-0 to 6-30 p. m. Closing remarks by the President. Thanks-
giving. Dr. Surendra Nath Sen and Prof.
D. V. Potdar Garlanding.

Invitation to the Congress to Allahabad
to meet there in October 1937.

6-30 to 7-15 p. m. Lecture by Prof. S. N. Bhuyan on " Assam's
Place in India.—Historic Survey ".

7-30 to 8-30 p. m. Lantern Lecture by Mr. V. S. Tora on
" Historic Places in Maharashtra ".

9-45 p. m. onwards. Athletic and Indian martial Games, Acro-
batic feats by Maharashtra Mandal, Poona
and others.